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Prosopographical Notes: The Iranian Nobility during and after the Macedonian Conquest

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Introduction

The present study offers prosopographical notes on the Iranian aristocracy during, and in the aftermath of, the Macedonian conquest, on the basis of Berve's *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, to which it continuously refers, although differing on several accounts from it.

First, it is conceived as a compilation of mainly classical sources on the *Iranian nobility*—bar the inclusion of a few royal eunuchs—whereby particular attention has been devoted to restricting to a minimum the inevitable harmonization process during the compilation; wherever possible the inner contradictions of the major sources within a single narrative, as well as those emerging from the comparison with other sources, have been consciously maintained. In such cases, and some others, some of the original passages or technical terms have been cited.

Second, Berve's prosopography, despite the overwhelming accuracy of its source references, occasionally blends scholarly opinions with the testimonies of our sources in an indiscriminate fashion. For this reason, I deemed it useful to adapt Berve's prosopography by extracting from it all that exceeds the evidence provided by the sources, and by verifying and complementing, wherever required, the source indications, with the aim of producing a *descriptive* document that may serve as *Materialgrundlage* for further analysis, without comprising interpretative elements itself. Consequently, after having laboriously extracted the comments of a bygone generation, no attempt has been made to introduce the numerous insights that an abundant literature has produced

since the publication of Berve's work. In the rare cases where a commentary is included, I have indicated it as such by placing it between two brackets { }, so as to distinguish it sharply from the content of the sources.

Third, the insights of oriental sources, whenever available, have been taken into consideration, which has at times evinced intriguing results.

This study was begun long before the recent publication of Heckel's *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, which handsomely complements Berve's work, without replacing it.

Prosopographical Notes

1. Abistamenes (= Ber. 4)

[Arr. 2.4.2; Curt. 3.4.1]

- Satrap of Cappadocia at Taurus in 333 under Alexander (Curt. 3.4.1), although Arrianus (2.4.2) mentions a certain **Sabíktas** (>Ber. 690) as Alexander's appointee for this charge.

2. Aboulítēs/Aboulétēs (= Ber. 5)

[Arr. 3.8.5; 3.16.6–9; 7.4.1; Ctes. Pers. 63; Curt. 5.2.8–10, 17; 5.3.16; D.S. 17.65.50; Plu. Alex. 68–69]

- Possible descendant of his homonymous forebear under Artaxerxes II (Ctes. Pers. 63)?
- Father of **Oxáθrēs** (>Ber. 585) (Arr. 3.8.5) and other sons (Plu. Alex. 68.4); Plutarch calls him Ἀβουλήτης.
- Satrap of Susiana under Darius III (Arr. 3.16.9; Curt. 5.2.8, 17).

- Did not personally take part in the battle of Gaugamela, but his contingents were led by his son Oxathres (**Arr.** 3.8.5).
- Surrendered Susa and its treasures to Alexander without battle (**Curt.** 5.2.8–10; **Arr.** 3.16.6–7; **D.S.** 17.65.50); he had already informed Alexander of his intention to surrender through his son's intermediary (**Arr.** 3.16.6; **Curt.** 5.2.8).
- Was confirmed in his satrapy by Alexander (**Arr.** 3.16.9; **Curt.** 5.2.17); he expanded it by annexing the territories of the Mountain-Uxiens (**Curt.** 5.3.16).
- Was executed together with his sons by Alexander after the latter's return from India on the grounds that he had not provided relief and furnished provisions for Alexander's returning troops and, despite his monetary tribute, was thrown into prison (**Plu. Alex.** 68.4), and eventually put to death (**Arr.** 7.4.1).

3. Aigobárēs (= Ber. 32)
[**Arr.** 7.6.5]

- Brother of **Miθrobaïos** (>Ber. 526).
- Was admitted together with a few other Iranian noblemen, namely **Kophēn** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaïos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and his own brother **Mithrobaïos**, to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (**Arr.** 7.6.5).

4. Amastrínē/Amēstris (= Ber. 50)
[**Arr.** 7.4.5; **D.S.** 20.109.7; **Polyaen.** 6.12; **Memn.** 4.4–5.2; **Str.** 12.544; **St. Byz.** “Ἀμαστρίνη”]

- Daughter of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587) (**Arr.** 7.4.5; **D.S.** 20.109.7).
- Cousin of ²**Státeira** (>Ber. 722)—daughter of King Darius and wife of Alexander—with whom she was raised (**Memn.** 4.4).
- At the weddings of Susa, she was married to Craterus, Alexander's Companion, with whom she remained in wedlock until the death of Alexander (**Arr.** 7.4.5; **Memn.** 4.4).
- After Alexander's death, she separated from Craterus—who had turned to Phila, Antipater's daughter—and with the latter's consent became

the wife of Dionysus of Heracleia (**Memn.** 4.4; **Str.** 12.544; **St. Byz.** “Ἀμαστρίνη”), with whom she had three children (**Memn.** 4.8).

5. Amedines (= Ber. 51)
[**Curt.** 7.3.4; **D.S.** 17.81.2]

- Probably Darius III's secretary (*scriba*) (**Curt.** 7.3.4).
- Was made lord over the *Euergetae* by Alexander in the region between Drangiana and Arachosia (**Curt.** 7.3.4). Diodorus (17.81.2) names a certain ²**Tiridátēs** (>Ber. 755) in the same function, so that one of them must have succeeded the other.

6. Ammínapēs (= Ber. 55)
[**Arr.** 3.22.1; 23.4; **Curt.** 6.4.23, 25]

- Parthian nobleman exiled by Artaxerxes Ochus to the court of Philip II, whose friend he then became (**Curt.** 6.4.25).
- Was active in 332 during the annexation of Egypt by Alexander together with **Mazákēs** (>Ber. 485) (**Arr.** 3.22.1).
- Became satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia following Hyrcania's conquest by Alexander (**Arr.** 3.22.1; **Curt.** 6.4.25).
- Was soon replaced in his function by **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814), the former satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia (**Arr.** 3.23.4; **Curt.** 6.4.23), who after Darius' death surrendered to Alexander prior to the submission of other Achaemenid grandees at *Zadracarta* in Hyrcania, and hence was granted his former satrapy (**Arr.** 3.28.2; 5.20.7).

7. *Andragóras (= Ber. *6)
[see **Phrataphérnēs** (= Ber. 814)]

8. Antíbēlos (Arr.)/Brochubelos (Curt.) (= Ber. 82)
[**Arr.** 3.8.6; 21.1; **Curt.** 5.13.11]

- Son of **Mazaïos** (>Ber. 484), satrap of Syria (**Arr.** 3.8.6).
- Brother of **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), and **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759).
- Was himself *Syriae praetor* under Darius (**Curt.** 5.13.11).
- Was loyal to Darius, and joined Alexander's camp only after Darius' arrest together with the Babylonian eunuch **Bagisθánēs** (>Ber. 193) (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.13.11).

9. ¹Apámē/Artakáma (Arr.) (= Ber. 97)
[Arr. 7.4.6; Plu. *Eum.* 1.3]

- Daughter of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), and sister of **Artōnis** (>Ber. 155), and **Barsínē** (>Ber. 206) (Arr. 7.4.6; Plu. *Eum.* 1.3).
- At the weddings of Susa, she was married to Ptolemy (Arr. 7.4.6; Plu. *Eum.* 1.3).

10. ²Apámē (= Ber. 98)
[Arr. 7.4.6; Plu. *Dem.* 31; App. *Syr.* 57; Str. 12.749; Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, 1.261]

- Daughter of **Spitaménēs** (>Ber. 717) (Arr. 7.4.6).
- Was married at the weddings of Susa to Seleucus (Arr. 7.4.6).
- Mother of the later Seleucid king Antiochus I (Plu. *Dem.* 31; App. *Syr.* 57; Str. 12.749; Schoene, *Eusebi Chronicorum*, 1.261).

11. Arboupálēs (= Ber. 106)
[Arr. 1.16.3]

- Grandson of Artaxerxes II, and son of Darius, son of Artaxerxes II (Arr. 1.16.3); an **Achaemenid**.
- Was one of the commanders (ἡγεμόνες) who died at the battle of Granicus, among whom were **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Spīōridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzānes** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; and **Pharnákēs** (>Ber. 767) (Arr. 1.16.3).
- Fought and fell at the battle of Granicus as one of the ἡγεμόνες of the Persian cavalry (Arr. 1.16.3).

12. Ariákēs (= Ber. 111)
[Arr. 3.8.5]

- Leader of the Cappadocian contingents at Gaugamela (Arr. 3.8.5).
- Possibly successor of the Cappadocian hyparch **Miθrobouzānēs** (>Ber. 527), who fell at the battle of Granicus (Arr. 3.8.5).

13. Ariamázēs (Arr.)/Arimases (Curt.) (= Ber. 112)
[Arr. 4.18.4, 6; 19.3–4; 21.1; Curt. 7.11.1, 4–5, 21–29; Polyæn. 4.19.4]

- Possibly one of the Sogdian ὑπαρχοι (Arr. 4.21.1).

- Lord of the “Sogdian Rock” (ἡ ἐν Σογδιάνῃ πέτρα, Arr. 4.18.4; *petra*, Curt. 7.9.1), which he apparently defended against Alexander with a force of 30,000 armed men (Curt. 7.11.1).
- Arrianus does not mention Ariamazes by name, and the actions ascribed to him by Curtius are attributed by Arrianus to the defendants of the rock in general.
- Refused to surrender the rock after negotiation with **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), who served Alexander as mediator (Curt. 7.11.4–5; see also Arr. 4.18.6).
- Agreed to surrender after a second round of negotiation with Kophen (merely a *herald* according to Arr. 4.19.3) after the latter revealed to him that Macedonian soldiers had seized the summit of the rock, and thus threatened the fort (Curt. 7.11.21–26; Polyæn. 4.3.29).
- Surrendered with his noblemen, but was ordered to be crucified and put to death together with his men by Alexander (Curt. 7.11.26–29; Arr. 4.19.4).

14. ¹Ariaráthēs (= Ber. 113)
[Curt. 10.10.3; D.S. 18.16.1–3; 31.19.2–4; Just. 13.6.1]

- Possibly son of Ariamnes or Ariaramnes (D.S. 31.19.2), and brother of **Orophérnēs** (**Olophérnēs**), whose son, his namesake, he adopted (D.S. 31.19.4).
- Sovereign (δυνάστης) (D.S. 18.16.1; *rex* Just. 13.6.1) of Cappadocia probably already under Artaxerxes Ochus, to whom he sent his brother Orophernes for the Egyptian campaign (D.S. 31.19.3).
- Was arguably able to maintain his Pontic domain unaffected by Alexander's conquest as the latter was occupied elsewhere (D.S. 18.16.1); upon Alexander's death, Ariarathes was either defeated in battle against Perdiccas, who subsequently impaled him together with his relatives (τοῦτον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ πάντας αἰκισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσε; D.S. 18.16.2–3); or fell in battle against Eumenes acting on orders of Perdiccas (D.S. 31.19.4). Justin, on the other hand, reports that Perdiccas, having defeated Ariarathes in battle, was unable to capture him, for the latter withdrew into the city, killed the members of his house, and set fire to his household, so that the victor would find everything in flames (Just. 13.6.1: *Interea*

Perdicca bello Ariarathi, regi Cappadocum, inlato proelio victor nihil praemii praeter vulnera et pericula rettulit. Quippe hostes ab acie in urbem recepti occisis coniugibus et liberis domos quisque suas cum omnibus copiis incenderunt; eoque congestis etiam servitiis semet ipsi praecipitant ut nihil hostis victor suarum rerum praeter incendii spectaculo frueretur).

- Curtius mentions that initially Eumenes was ordered to wage war with Ariarathes, but that he declined this assignment (*Cappadocia Eumeni cum Paphlagonia cessit; praeceptum est ut regionem eam usque ad Trapezunta defenderet bellum cum Ariarathe gereret: solus hic detrectabat imperium; Curt. 10.10.3*).

15. ²Ariaráthēs (= Ber. 113)
[D.S. 18.16.1; 31.19.4]

- Son of **Orophérnēs** (**Olophérnēs**) (D.S. 31.19.4), and older nephew of the Cappadocian δυνάστης ¹**Ariaráthēs** (>Ber. 113) (D.S. 18.16.1; *rex Just.* 13.6.1).
- Was made heir apparent by his uncle Ariarathes following the death of Alexander (D.S. 31.19.4).
- With his uncle, King Ariarathes, having fallen in battle against Eumenes, ²Ariarathes withdrew his forces to Armenia, whence he subsequently sat out successfully to reconquer his domain after Eumenes and Perdiccas had died (D.S. 31.19.5).

16. ¹Ariobarzánēs (= Ber. 115)
[Arr. 3.8.5; 18.2–9; 23.7; Curt. 4.12.7; 5.3.17–23; 5.4.1–34; D.S. 17.68.1–7]

- Son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152) and brother of ¹**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 148) and **Kophén** (>Ber. 459) (Arr. 3.23.7).
- Satrap of Persia under Darius (Arr. 3.18.2).
- At Gaugamela, together with **Orontobátēs** (>Ber. 594), led the Persian, Mardian, and Sogdian contingents (Curt. 4.12.7; Arrianus [3.8.5], however, ascribes to him, Orontobates, as well as to **Orxínēs/Orsines** (>Ber. 592) the command over tribes bordering the Red Sea.
- Defended the Persian (Susian) Gates against Alexander with infantry and cavalry and was able to inflict heavy losses to Alexander's troops (Arr. 3.18.2–3; Curt. 5.3.17–23; D.S. 17.68.1–5).

- Despite initial success in defending the Persian Gates, was overcome by Alexander, who, led by a Lycian captive, made his way over the mountain on a difficult path, took the rear of the Persian troops by surprise, and encircled Ariobarzanes' camp (Arr. 3.18.4–9; Curt. 5.4.1–32; D.S. 17.68.5–7).
- Escaped with few horsemen (Arr. 3.18.9); Curtius (5.4.33–34), however, reports that he was killed in battle with pursuing Macedonians after having been denied entry into the city of Persepolis to which he had fled.
- Surrendered to Alexander at *Zadrakarta* in Hyrcania following Darius' death together with his father Artabazos and his brothers Kophen and ¹Arsames, as well as the satrap of the Tapurians ²**Autophradátēs** (>Ber. 189) (Arr. 3.23.7).

17. ²Ariobarzánēs (= Ber. 116)
[FGrH 275 F1]

- Son of Darius III.
- According to Aretades of Cnidus, was favorably disposed towards Alexander, and had promised to betray his father. Darius fell into rage (possibly having discovered his intentions) and cut off his head.

18. Arsákēs (Arr.)/**Arsames** (Curt.) (= Ber. 146)
[Arr. 3.25.5–7; 4.7.1; 4.18.1, 3; Curt. 7.3.1; 8.3.17]

- Persian nobleman whom Alexander charged with the satrapy of Areia following the revolt of **Satibarzánēs** (>Ber. 697) (Arr. 3.25.5–7). Curtius (7.3.1) seems to confuse Arsakes' name with that of a certain Arsames, whom he makes satrap of Drangiana (Curt. 7.3.1; 8.3.17).
- Was made captive by his successor Stasanor (Arr. 4.18.1), who brought him in chains to Alexander at *Zariaspa* accompanied by **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814) satrap of Parthia, who had overcome **Barzánēs** (>Ber. 204), ephemerally invested with the satrapy of Parthia by **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) (Arr. 4.7.1); Curtius mentions Stasanor as the successor of a certain Arsames, who was governor of the Drangians (*Drangarum praefecto; Curt.* 8.3.17), which is also attested by Arrianus at a later stage (Arr. 4.18.3), but also alludes to a certain Arsaces who was sent to Media in order to replace **Oxydátēs/Oxodates** (>Ber. 588); Curtius

undoubtedly confuses this Arsaces with **Atropátēs** (>Ber. 180) (**Curt.** 8.3.17).

19. ¹Arsámēs (= Ber. 148)

[**Arr.** 3.23.7]

- Son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), and brother of ¹**Ariobarzánēs** (>Ber. 115) and **Kophén** (>Ber. 459) (**Arr.** 3.23.7).
- Surrendered to Alexander at *Zadrakarta* following Darius' death together with his father Artabazus, and his brothers Kophen and ¹Ariobarzanes, as well as the satrap of the Tapurians ²**Autophradátēs** (>Ber. 189) (**Arr.** 3.23.7).

20. ²Arsámēs (= Ber. 149)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 2.4.5–6; 2.11.9; **Curt.** 3.4.3–6; **D.S.** 17.19.4]

- Satrap of Cilicia (**Curt.** 3.4.3; **Arr.** 2.4.5).
- Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) together with **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **Petéñēs** (>Ber. 632); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; and **Ar-sítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zelesia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; **Curt.** 3.4.3).
- Led a cavalry detachment at Granicus (**D.S.** 17.19.4); Diodorus erroneously calls him *Arsamenes*.
- Sought to save the city of Tarsos for the Persians, but was forced to abandon it after Alexander had passed the Cilician Gates. Alexander's swift advance towards the city prevented Arsames from plundering it (**Arr.** 2.4.5–6).
- He allegedly devastated Cilicia with fire and sword so as to leave nothing behind that could be used by the progressing enemy (**Curt.** 3.4.3–6).
- Found death at the battle of Issus along with Rheomitres and **Atizýēs** (>Ber. 179) (**Arr.** 2.11.9; **Curt.** 3.11.10).

21. Arsímas (= Ber. 150)

[**Arr.** 2.14.1–3; **Curt.** 4.1.8; **Plu.** *Alex.* 29.4]

- Persian nobleman who, subsequent to the battle of Issus, was sent along with Meniscus with a letter from Darius addressed to Alexander, from whom he was also given an answer to Darius'

attention (**Arr.** 2.14.1–3; on the letter and the herald(s), see **Curt.** 4.1.8; **Plu.** *Alex.* 29.4).

22. Arsítēs (= Ber. 151)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 1.16.3; **D.S.** 17.19.4; **Str.** 16.5.5]

- Father of **Miθropástēs** (>Ber. 528) (**Str.** 16.5.5).
- Satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, although Arrianus calls him ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8).
- Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) together with ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilicia; **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **Petéñēs** (>Ber. 632); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); and **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia, who held a council of war at *Zelesia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10); he emphatically rejected Memnon's plan to lay waste the territories from which the Persians were prepared to retreat (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10).
- Led the Paphlagonian cavalry at Granicus (**D.S.** 17.19.4).
- Survived Granicus and fled to Phrygia, where he committed suicide, allegedly because he blamed himself for the outcome of the battle (**Arr.** 1.16.3); but possibly because he considered himself to be responsible for the disaster of Granicus by opposing Memnon's stratagem.

23. Artábazos (= Ber. 152)

[**Arr.** 3.21.1–5; 3.23.6–7; 28.2–3; 3.29.1; 4.16.2–3; 4.17.3; **Curt.** 3.13.13; 5.9.1–12.18; 6.5.1–5; 6.5.40; 7.3.2–3; 7.5.1; 8.1.19]

- Son of the Phrygian satrap Pharnabazus and Apame, daughter of Artaxerxes II; an **Achaemenid**.
- Father of ¹**Ariobarzánēs** (>Ber. 115), ¹**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 148), **Kophén** (>Ber. 459) (**Arr.** 3.23.7), and the young **Ilioneus/Hystanes** (>Ber. 384); as well as of (>Ber. 152), ¹**Apámē/Artakáma** (>Ber. 97), **Artōnis** (>Ber. 155) and **Barsínē** (>Ber. 206) (**Arr.** 7.4.6; **Plu.** *Eum.* 1.3; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4).
- Was in exile at the court of Philip of Macedonia under the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus (**Curt.** 5.9.1; 6.5.1).
- Close (oldest) friend and companion of Darius (*Artabazus vetustissimus amicorum*; **Curt.** 5.9.1).
- His wife and one of his sons, Ilioneus/Hystanes through treason fell into the hands of Parmenion as he took Damascus (**Curt.** 3.13.13).

- Tried to persuade King Darius to gain the camp of the Greek mercenaries prior to the king's arrest by Bessus (**Curt.** 5.12.7–8).
- Was loyal to Darius even after the latter was made captive through the conspiracy of **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212), **Nabarzānēs** (>Ber. 543), and **Bar-saéntēs** (>Ber. 205). Unable to prevent the arrest of Darius, Artabazus together with his sons and the Greek mercenaries found refuge in the Tapurian mountains (*Parthia* according to **Curt.** 5.12.18); (**Arr.** 3.21.1–5; **Curt.** 5.9.2–5.12.18).
- Following Darius' assassination, Artabazus and three of his sons, namely Ariobarzanes, Arsames, and Kophen (*nine sons* according to **Curt.** 6.5.40), along with the satrap of the Tapurians (*some Greek mercenaries* according to **Curt.** 6.5.1), surrendered at *Zadrakarta* to Alexander, who was advancing towards Hyrcania (**Arr.** 3.23.6–7; **Curt.** 6.5.1–5).
- Was sent together with the two Companions Erigyius and Caranus—the satrap of Parthia, **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814) was also asked to join them—as part of an expeditionary force to counter the insurrection of the Areians who had revolted against Alexander under the leadership of **Satibarzānēs** (>Ber. 697) (**Arr.** 3.28.2–3; **Curt.** 7.3.2–3).
- After the conquest of Bactria and the flight of Bessus, Alexander appointed Artabazus as satrap of Bactria (**Arr.** 3.29.1; 4.15.5; **Curt.** 7.5.1).
- Together with Coenus led one of the contingents with which Alexander invaded Sogdiana; was sent along with Coenus in the direction of Scythia, for **Spitaménēs** (>Ber. 717) was reported to have taken refuge there (**Arr.** 4.16.2–3).
- After the defeat of **Ariamázēs** (>Ber. 112), was given authority over the Sogdian fort and the surrounding districts (**Curt.** 7.11.29).
- At his own request and on account of his old age, Artabazus was relieved of the satrapy of Bactria (**Arr.** 4.17.3; **Curt.** 8.1.19).

24. Artibólēs (= Ber. 154)
[**Arr.** 7.6.4; **Curt.** 5.1.17]

- Son of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484) (**Arr.** 7.6.4).
- Brother of **Antíbelos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82), and **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) (**Arr.** 7.6.4).
- It is unclear whether he was among those sons of Mazaius who accompanied him as he surrendered Babylon to Alexander (**Curt.** 5.1.17).

- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely, **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); his own brother **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526), to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (**Arr.** 7.6.5).

25. Artōnis (= Ber. 155)
[**Arr.** 7.4.6; **Plu. Eum.** 1.3; 19.1]

- Daughter of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), and sister of ¹**Apámē/Artakáma** (>Ber. 97) and **Barsínē** (>Ber. 206) (**Arr.** 7.4.6).
- At the weddings of Susa, she was married to the royal secretary Eumemes (Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ τῷ σωματοφύλακι καὶ Εὐμενεῖ τῷ γραμματεῖ τῷ βασιλικῷ τὰς Ἀρταβάζου παῖδας τῷ μὲν Ἀρτακάμαν τῷ δὲ Ἀρτωνιν [δίδωσι]; **Arr.** 7.4.6; **Plu. Eum.** 1.3, calls Artonis by mistake also *Barsine*).
- She survived the assassination of her husband, and had several children from her union with Eumenes (**Plu. Eum.** 19.1).

26. Astáspēs (= Ber. 173)
[**Curt.** 9.10.21; 9.10.30]

- Satrap of Carmania (**Curt.** 9.10.21).
- Was suspected of having contemplated revolt during Alexander's Indian campaign (**Curt.** 9.10.21).
- Was executed by Alexander due to his alleged treason (**Curt.** 9.10.30).

27. Atizýēs (= Ber. 179)
[**Arr.** 1.25.3; 1.29.1–3; 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.10; **D.S.** 17.21.3; 17.34.5]

- Satrap of Phrygia (**Arr.** 1.25.3).
- One of the Persian commanders at Granicus, where he led a cavalry contingent (**Arr.** 2.11.8).
- Seems to have fled ensuing Alexander's invasion of Phrygia, whose new satrap Antigonos had been appointed (**Arr.** 1.29.1–3).
- Took part in the battle of Issus along with other Persian nobles who lost their life at Issus, that is, **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149); **Sabákēs** (>Ber. 689), satrap of Egypt; and ¹**Boubákēs** (>Ber. 220) (**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–

10), to all of whom Arrianus (2.11.8) refers as ἐντιμαὶ Πέρσαι; was killed around the king's chariot with Rheomitres and ²Arsames (Curt. 3.11.9–10). Diodorus erroneously places the death of Atizyes at Granicus (D.S. 17.21.3) and seems to substitute for him, among the fallen commanders of Issus, an otherwise unknown Antixyes (D.S. 17.34.5).

28. Atropátēs (= Ber. 180)

[Arr. 3.8.4; 3.20.3; 4.18.3; 6.29.3; 7.4.5; Curt. 6.2.11; 8.3.17; D.S. 18.3.3; Just. 13.4.13; Str. 11.523; St. Byz. "Ἀτροπατία"]

- Satrap of Media under Darius and Alexander.
- At Gaugamela led the Mede troops, as well as the Cadusians, Albanians, and Sacassinians (Arr. 3.8.4).
- Probably accompanied Darius in his flight to Hyrcania, since Alexander appointed Oxydátēs/Oxodates (>Ber. 588) as the new satrap of Media (Arr. 3.20.3); Curtius, however, reports the appointment of Oxodates following Darius' death (Curt. 6.2.11).
- Surrendered to Alexander after Darius' death, and was appointed by the former, instead of Oxydates, as the new satrap of his former satrapy (Arr. 4.18.3); Curtius confuses Atropates with a certain Arsaces (Curt. 8.3.17).
- Defeated and captured Baruáxēs (>Ber. 207), the Mede insurgent who had assumed the title of king of Persians and Medes during Alexander's absence in India, and brought him as captive to Pasargadae (Arr. 6.29.3).
- His daughter was married in Susa to Perdiccas (Arr. 7.4.5; Just. 4. 13).
- After Alexander's death, received the Lesser Media (*Mediae minori*; D.S. 18.3.3; Just. 13.4.13) that was thereafter called Atropatene (Str. 11.523; St. Byz. "Ἀτροπατία").

29. Austánēs (= Ber. 186)

[Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2]

- One of the magnates of Sogdian Paraitacene—see also Sisimíθrēs/Choriénēs (>Ber. 708) (Arr. 4.21.1)—who, along with Katánēs (>Ber. 415) (Arr. 4.22.1) (Curt. 8.5.2), Spitaménēs (>Ber. 717), and Dataphérnēs (>Ber. 246), had led the east Iranian revolt against Alexander (Curt. 7.6.14–15; 8.3.16), but were finally reduced by Craterus, whom Alexander had charged with

their submission on his way to Bactra (Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2).

- Was made prisoner by Craterus and brought to Alexander in Bactra (Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2).

30. ¹Autophradátēs (= Ber. 188)

[Arr. 2.1.3–5; 2.2.1–3; 2.13.4; 3.2.3–5; 2.13.4–6; 2.20.1–3; Curt. 4.1.37; Polyæn. 7.27.2]

- Probably one of the commanders of the Persian navy under Memnon (Arr. 2.1.3); after the latter's death, commander of the Persian navy together with Pharnábazos (>Ber. 766).
- Led a military action against Ephesus (Polyæn. 7.27.2).
- Besieged and invested Mytilene after Memnon's death, together with Pharnabazus, who had replaced his uncle Memnon as commander-in-chief of the navy pending the king's decision (Arr. 2.1.3–5; Curt. 4.1.37).
- Was charged with the conquest of the *other* islands, while Pharnabazus sailed for Lycia; after having joined Autophradates, they sent Datámēs (>Ber. 245) with ten ships to subjugate the Cyclades, while they themselves proceeded with a hundred ships to Tenedos, which was brought over to the Persians (Arr. 2.2.1–3; Curt. 4.1.37).
- Seems to have invested Chios together with Pharnabazus (Arr. 3.2.3–5), established a Persian garrison there (Arr. 2.13.4; Curt. 4.1.37), and helped to reinstate the pro-Persian oligarchic faction (Arr. 3.2.3–5), before departing for Siphnus (Arr. 2.13.4; Curt. 4.1.37).
- After the Persian defeat at Issus, Autophradates supported the demands of King Agis of Sparta, with whom he met at Siphnus, for the war in the Peloponnese with ten triremes and the sum of thirty talents in Siphnus, before departing for Halicarnassus (Arr. 2.13.4–6).
- Autophradates' fleet was deserted after Issus by the Phoenician and Cypriot contingents (Arr. 2.20.1–3).

31. ²Autophradátēs (Arr.)/Phradates (Curt.) (= Ber. 189)

[Arr. 3.8.4, 11; 21.1; 23.7; 24.3; 4.18.2; Curt. 4.12.9; 18.2; 6.4.23, 25; 5.21; 8.3.17; 10.1.39]

- Satrap of the Tapurians under Darius (Arr. 3.23.7).
- Led the Caspians at Gaugamela (*Caspíi*; Curt. 4.12.9).

- At Gaugamela was probably subordinated to **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814), who led the Tapurians as well (**Arr.** 3.8.4, 11).
- Surrendered to Alexander at *Zadrakarta* following Darius' death together with **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), as well as his sons **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), ¹**Ariobarzánēs** (>Ber. 115), and ¹**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 148) (**Arr.** 3.23.7). It is uncertain whether his submission was caused by the imminent threat that the dispatch of Craterus and Erigyus against him constituted (**Curt.** 6.4.23; **Arr.** 3.21.1).
- Was confirmed in his satrapy by Alexander (**Arr.** 3.23.7; **Curt.** 6.4.25), which was enlarged by the territories of the Mardians/Amardians (**Arr.** 3.24.3; **Curt.** 6.5.21).
- Was relieved from his satrapy after refusing to appear before Alexander, and was subsequently made prisoner and brought to Alexander at Nautaca by Phrataphernes (>Ber. 814), satrap of Hyrcania, (**Arr.** 4.18.2), who was subsequently ordered to incorporate Autophradates' territories into his own satrapy (**Curt.** 8.3.17).
- Was executed after Alexander's return from the Indian campaign, allegedly because he was suspected to aspire to royal power (**Curt.** 10.1.39).

32. Bagisθánēs (= Ber. 193)
[**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.13.3]

- Babylonian eunuch belonging to Darius' household who surrendered to Alexander after Darius' arrest along with **Antíbelos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 193), son of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and reported the machination of which Darius had become victim (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.13.3).

33. Bagóas (= Ber. 195)
[**Arr.** 6.30.1–2; **Curt.** 6.5.23; 10.1.25–38; **Plu. Alex.** 67.4]

- Eunuch of Darius III (**Curt.** 6.5.23).
- Following the death of the king, he was in the entourage of **Nabarzánēs** (>Ber. 543), who gave him as a gift to Alexander (*inter quae [dona] Bagoas erat specie singulari spado atque in ipso flore pueritiae cui et Dareus assuerat et mox Alexander assuevit*; **Curt.** 6.5.23), whose favorite he became.
- Won a singing and dancing contest in the royal palace of Gedrosia in the presence of the entourage of the king, which, enchanted, bade Alexander kiss him (**Plu. Alex.** 67.4).

- Might have been responsible for the disgrace of **Orxínēs (Arr.)/Orsines-Orsilos (Curt.)** (>Ber. 592), who was accused of injustice towards Persians and of robbing royal tombs and temples, notably, the Cyrus tomb, (**Arr.** 6.30.1–2; **Curt.** 10.1.30–35), and finally executed by Alexander (**Arr.** 6.30.2; **Curt.** 10.1.37). While Arrianus seems to accept the accusations against Orxines (**Arr.** 6.30.1–2), Curtius emphatically maintains the latter's innocence, and attributes his disgrace entirely to the machinations of Bagoas, to whom Orxines apparently did not pay any respect (*nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super iposorum vota coluisset Bagoae spadoni qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi nullum honorem habuit*; **Curt.** 10.1.25–38).

34. Bagodáras (D.S.)/Gobares-Cobares (Curt.)
(= Ber. 196)
[**Curt.** 7.4.8.19; **D.S.** 17.83.7]

- Mede known for his magic powers and attached to **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212); escaped from Bessus and surrendered to Alexander ensuing an incident, wherein, having mystified Bessus by suggesting submission to Alexander, he was almost put to death by the former (**Curt.** 7.4.8.19; **D.S.** 17.83.7).
- According to Diodorus (83.7), who calls him Bagodaras, his friendly reception by Alexander could have served as an impetus for Bessus' generals to defect from, and eventually betray, him.

35. Bagophanes (= Ber. 197)
[**Curt.** 5.1.20–21, 44]

- Guardian of the citadel and the royal treasures of Babylon (*arcis et regiae pecuniae custos*, **Curt.** 5.1.20).
- Surrendered the citadel (**Curt.** 5.1.44), which he had adorned for the occasion (**Curt.** 5.1.20–21), to Alexander.
- Was relieved of his office and admitted into Alexander's entourage (**Curt.** 5.1.44).

36. Barsaéntēs (= Ber. 205)
[**Arr.** 3.8.4; 21.1.10; 25.8; **Curt.** 6.6.36; 8.13.3; **D.S.** 17.74.1]

- Satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana (**Arr.** 3.8.4; 21.1; **Curt.** 6.6.36).

- Led the Arachosians and the Mountain-Indians at Gaugamela on the left wing of the Persian battle order (**Arr.** 3.8.4).
- After the Persian defeat at Gaugamela, accompanied the king in his retreat to the East, and later was among the conspirators together with **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) and **Nabarzānēs** (>Ber. 543), who in Thera arrested the king (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 6.6.36), to whom Barzaentes along with **Satibarzānēs** (>Ber. 697) inflicted a deadly wound some time later (**Arr.** 3.21.10; also **D.S.** 17.74.1 who calls Barzaentes, *Barxáes*).
- Fled together with Bessus and 600 horsemen (**Arr.** 3.21.10).
- Retreated to the Indians beyond the Indus (**Arr.** 3.25.8; **Curt.** 6.6.36), but was made prisoner and brought in fetters to Alexander—on the eve of his confrontation with Porus—along with the Indian king Damaraxus (*rex exiguae partis Indorum*, **Curt.** 8.13.3), who had allied himself with Barzaentes (**Curt.** 8.13.3).
- Was executed for regicide (**Arr.** 3.25.8); Curtius only mentions the imprisonment (**Curt.** 8.13.3).

37. Barsínē (= Ber. 206)

[**Arr.** 7.4.6; **Curt.** 3.13.14; **Just.** 11.10.2; 15.2.3; **D.S.** 16.52.4; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4; **Plu.** *Eum.* 1.3]

- Daughter of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152) and sister of **Artōnis** (>Ber. 155)] and ¹**Apámē/Artakáma** (>Ber. 97) (**Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4; **Arr.** 7.4.6).
- Possibly the daughter of a sister of Mentor and Memnon, who became Artabazus' wife (**D.S.** xvi. 52.4).
- Seems to have been married first with her uncle Mentor—with whom she possibly had several daughters, one of whom was married at Susa to Nearchus—(**Arr.** 7.4.6; **Curt.** 3.13.14); and was subsequently wedded to her other uncle Memnon (αὕτη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μέμνονος τελευτὴν χήρα γενομένη περὶ Δαμασκὸν ἐλήφθη; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4), from which union she also may have had a son (*nobilissimi ducis Memnonis coniunx et filius*; **Curt.** 3.13.14).
- After the Persian defeat at Issus, along with numerous aristocratic women and their children, was made captive by Parmenion, who through treason took Damascus, whereto the baggage train of the Persian army had been taken (**Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4; **Curt.** 3.13.14).
- Became the consort of Alexander, who seems to have pursued her at the instigation of Parmenion, according to Aristoboulus (**Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4);

she bore Alexander a son by the name of Heracles (**Plu.** *Eum.* 1.3; **Just.** 11.10.2: *tunc primum luxuriosa convivia et magnificentiam epularum sectari tunc et Barsinen captivam diligere propter formae pulchritudinem coepit a qua postea susceptum puerum Herculem vocavit*).

- Seems to have spent her later days in Pergamon with her son, prior to their assassination by Polyperchon (**Just.** 15.2.3).

38. Barzānēs (= Ber. 204)

[**Arr.** 4.7.1]

- Was ephemerally invested with the satrapy of Parthia by **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) (**Arr.** 4.7.1), but **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814), the reinstated Parthian satrap, overcame him, and brought him as a captive to Alexander at *Zaraispa* (**Arr.** 4.7.1).

39. Baruáxēs (= Ber. 207)

[**Arr.** 6.29.3]

- Insurgent who had assumed the title of king of Persians and Medes during Alexander's absence in India; was defeated, captured, and brought as captive to Alexander at Pasargadae by **Atropátēs** (>Ber. 180) (**Arr.** 6.29.3).

40. Bátis (Arr.)/Betis (Curt.) (= Ber. 209)

[**Arr.** 2.25.4–27.7; **Curt.** 4.6.1–31; **J. AJ.** 11.320 N]

- Eunuch, governor of the city of Gaza under Darius (**Arr.** 2.25.4; **Curt.** 4.6.7; **J. AJ.** 11.320 N) who, loyal to Darius (**Curt.** 4.6.7), with the help of Arab mercenaries defended the city (**Arr.** 2.25.4; **Curt.** 4.6.30), whose capture was very painful for the besiegers (**Arr.** 2.25.4–27.7; **Curt.** 4.6.1–31).
- Was brutally executed by Alexander following the capture of the city (**Curt.** 4.6.25–29), whose inhabitants were sold into slavery (**Arr.** 2.25–27).

41. Bēssos (= Ber. 212)

[**Arr.** 3.8.3; 16.1; 21.1–5.10; 25.3; 28.8–10; 29.6; 30.1–5; 4.7.3; **Curt.** 4.6.2; 12.6–7; 5.8.4; 9.2–8, 11; 12.7–20; 13.1–3, 15–18; 6.6.36; 7.4.20–25; 5.21–26; 5.36–43; **D.S.** 17.73.2; 74.1–2; 74.22; 83.7–9; **Plu.** *Alex.* 43.3]

- Satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana (**Arr.** 3.8.3; 21.1; **Curt.** 4.6.2).

- At Gaugamela led the Bactrians, Sogdians, and the Indians bordering the Bactrians on the left wing (**Arr.** 3.8.3); Curtius reports that Bessus' contingents at Gaugamela comprised 8,000 Bactrian horseman and 2,000 mounted Massagetae (**Curt.** 4.12.6–7).
- Followed King Darius in his flight to Media along with some 3,300 Bactrian horsemen (**Arr.** 3.16.1; **Curt.** 5.8.4).
- Curtius (5.9.3–8) reports that prior to the arrest of Darius by **Nabarzânēs** (>Ber. 543), Bessus, and **Barsaéntēs** (>Ber. 205) (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.9.2–3; 12.7–17; 6.6.36), the former had tried to persuade the king to relinquish his rule (*imperium*) and to hand it over to Bessus temporarily, as long as needed to expel the enemies from Asia, for *novis initiis et omnibus opus est* (**Curt.** 5.9.3–8).
- Withdrew his and his allies' forces from the rest of the army (**Curt.** 5.9.11), and was able, along with Nabarzanes and the Arachosian satrap Barsaentes, to take the king prisoner in his tent (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.12.7–17; 6.6.36), despite the warnings of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), who sought to persuade Darius to gain the Greek camp prior to his arrest by Bessus (**Curt.** 5.12.7–8).
- Was able to win the command over Darius' remaining army, as well as the Bactrian cavalry (**Arr.** 3.21.4), aside from Artabazus, his sons, and the Greek mercenaries, who, incapable of preventing Darius' arrest, had found refuge in the Tapurian mountains (*Parthia* according to **Curt.** 5.12.18); (**Arr.** 3.21.1–5; **Curt.** 5.9.2–5.12.18).
- Carried the king in fetters in a closed wagon (**Arr.** 3.21.4.10; **Curt.** 5.12.16–20), but instigated his assassination (**Arr.** 3.21.10; **Curt.** 5.13.1–13), as Alexander closed in on them (**Curt.** 5.13.1–13).
- Following the assassination of Darius, Bessus separated himself from Nabarzanes in order to render their pursuit more arduous for the Macedonians, and went to Bactria, whereas Nabarzanes headed for Hyrcania (**Curt.** 5.13.18; **D.S.** 17.73.4; 74.1); Nabarzanes, in contrast to Barsaentes and **Satibarzânēs** (>Ber. 697), who reportedly inflicted the deadly wound to Darius (**Arr.** 3.21.10; **D.S.** 17.73.2; see also **D.S.** 17.74.1 who calls Barsaentes, *Barxâes*), seems not to have participated actively in the assassination (**Curt.** 5.13.15–17).
- In Bactria, Bessus proclaimed himself king by wearing the royal Tiara and calling himself Artaxerxes (**Arr.** 3.25.3; **Curt.** 6.6.13; **D.S.** 17.74.22; 83.7); he also prepared to wage war against Alexander (1) by collecting additional troops, such as 7,000 Bactrians, as well as Dahae (**Arr.** 3.28.8) and Scythians (**Arr.** 3.25.3; **Curt.** 6.6.13); (2) manufacturing weapons (**D.S.** 17.74.2); and (3) ravaging the land lying between himself and Alexander, so as to undermine the Macedonian advance for want of provisions (**Arr.** 3.28.8).
- His claim to the Achaemenid throne under the throne name Artaxerxes is also reported in recently discovered Aramaic documents from Bactria (Naveh and Shaked, forthcoming), where not only his claim to royal dignity but also his preparations to depart from Bactra to Aornus² is reported:

1 byrḥ kslyw šnt 1 ʾrth[šš] mlkʾ
 2 dwšḥwr bmytnk ʾl b[ys] ʾdyn zy
 3 ʾdh mn bḥtry ʾl wrnw

Verso

51 dwšḥwr ʾl bys bmytnk [k]zy ʾdh mn bḥtry ʾl wrnw

1 In the month of Kislev, year 1 of **Artax[erxes]**
the King.
 2 Provisions in Maithanaka for **Ba[yasa]**, when
 3 he passed **from Bactra to Varnu.**

Verso

51 Provisions to **Bayasa** in Maithanaka, when he
 passed **from Bactra to Varnu.**

- He is similarly mentioned in a recently re-edited Babylonian chronicle on Darius III and Alexander: as *Bi[šu ša Artakšatšu] šumšu nabû* “Be[ssus] who by his name is called Artaxerxes” (van der Spek 2003, obv. 3'–4')
- Despite Bessus' preparations, Alexander was able to advance, which compelled Bessus to cross the Oxus with boats he let burn after his passage (**Arr.** 3.28.9; **Curt.** 7.4.21) together with the Sogdian troops of **Spitaménēs** (>Ber. 717) and **Oxyárōēs** (>Ber. 587), as well as the detachment of Dahae (**Arr.** 3.28.9–10; **Curt.** 7.4.20–21); the Bactrian cavalry deserted Bessus, as it became apparent that he was not determined to fight, but intended to retreat instead to Nautaca in Sogdiana (**Arr.** 3.28.10); according to Curtius (7.4.20), the Bactrians deserted Bessus, for they hoped the Macedonians would not

- come to Bactria due to the arduous climate, but to India instead.
- {Since Arrianus (3.28.9), as well as Curtius (7.4.22–25), both report the hardship Alexander encountered in collecting supplies for his army while advancing towards Bessus, one may assume that aside from the climate, which was partially responsible for this scarcity, Bessus' stratagem of ravaging the land had been to some extent successful.}
 - Was betrayed by **Dataphérnēs** (>Ber. 246) along with Spitamenes and **Katánēs** (>Ber. 415), who, after crossing the Oxus in flight from Alexander, handed him over to the Macedonians (**Arr.** 3.29.6; **Curt.** 7.5.21–26). Allegedly, Bessus was left behind by Dataphernes and his fellow conspirators to be apprehended by Macedonian forces dispatched under the command of Ptolemy (**Arr.** 3.30.1–3); Aristoboulus *apud* Arrianus (3.30.5) reports that Bessus was handed over naked and bound to Ptolemy by Spitamenes and Dataphernes personally. Curtius further relates that Bessus was brought bound, naked, and in chains to Alexander at the river Iaxartes by Spitamenes and possibly Katanes (**Curt.** 7.5.36–43).
 - Both Spitamenes and Katanes seem to be present in the Babylonian chronicle reporting on Darius III and Alexander; both reportedly died a violent death: *Kidinnu ina kakki iddâk* "Kidinnu was killed by the sword," (van der Spek 2003, obv. 8'), which could validate Curtius' notice about Katanes dying in battle against Craterus (*Catanes in proelio occisus*; **Curt.** 8.5.2); similarly, in the chronicle, Spitamenes seems to have died a violent death, since [*I*]spatanu appears to be associated with the same expression *ina kakki iddâk* "was killed by the sword" (van der Spek 2003, rev. 2'–4').
 - Was questioned by Alexander about the motivations of his regicide (**Arr.** 3.30.4–5; **Curt.** 7.5.38–39), subsequently publicly whipped (**Arr.** 3.30.4–5), and sent to Bactra for execution (**Arr.** 3.30.5). Arrianus (4.7.3) also mentions Ecbatana as the place of the execution later in the narrative; see also **Curt.** 7.5.43, who reports that Bessus was to be slain in the same place wherein he had killed Darius.
 - Was mutilated (nose and ears were cut off) in *Zariaspa*, following the verdict of a Macedonian council, summoned to deliver judgment about his fate (**Arr.** 4.7.3; see also **Curt.** 7.5.38–39).
 - Was sent to Ecbatana, apparently to stand trial in front of a Median and Persian council (ἐν τῷ Μηδῶν τε καὶ Περσῶν συλλόγῳ, **Arr.** 4.7.3), about whose composition Diodorus informs us when speaking about the persons to whom Bessus was handed over for punishment, namely, τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις (**D.S.** 17.83.8).
 - Was allegedly executed by Darius III's own brother **Oxyáthrēs** (>Ber. 586) (**Curt.** 7.5.40; **D.S.** 17.83.9; **Just.** 12.5.11), either by crucifixion (**Curt.** 7.5.40), mutilation (**D.S.** 17.83.9), or a combination thereof (**Plu. Alex.** 43.3).
- 42. Bisθánēs** (= Ber. 215)
[**Arr.** 3.19.4–5]
- Son of King Artaxerxes Ochus; an Achaemenid (**Arr.** 3.19.4).
 - Three days march before Ecbatana, Bisthanes surrendered to Alexander and informed him of Darius' effectives and position (**Arr.** 3.19.4–5).
- 43. Boxos** (= Ber. 219)
[**Curt.** 9.7.1–11]
- Bactrian who killed Athenodorus, the leader of the insurrectionary Greek soldiers who were settled in colonies around Bactra by Alexander; Boxus allegedly killed Athenodorus on the instigation of another mercenary leader, Biton (**Curt.** 9.7.1–11).
 - Was put to death as the trickery of Biton was discovered (**Curt.** 9.7.7–8).
- 44. ¹Boubákēs** (= Ber. 220)
[**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10]
- High Iranian aristocrat killed at Issus; Arrianus refers to him along with other Persian nobles who lost their life at Issus, that is, **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **²Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149); **Atizýēs** (>Ber. 179); and **Sabákēs** (>Ber. 689), satrap of Egypt (**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10), as ἐντιμαὶ Πέρσαι (**Arr.** 2.11.8).
- 45. ²Boubákēs** (= Ber. 222)
[**Curt.** 5.11.4; 12.10–12]
- Darius' eunuch who accompanied the king until his death (**Curt.** 5.11.4; 12.10–12).

46. Carthasis (= Ber. 413)

[**Arr.** 4.4.1–9; 5.1; **Curt.** 7.7.1]

- Brother of the Scythian king (*rex Scytharum*; Σκυθῶν βασιλεύς) whose rule extended at time beyond the Iaxartes (**Curt.** 7.7.1; **Arr.** 4.5.1).
- Was sent by his brother along with a large force of cavalry to destroy the newly established city of Alexandria Eschate at Iaxartes (**Arr.** 4.4.1), and to drive off the Macedonian forces from the river (**Curt.** 7.7.1).
- The Scythian forces under the commander **Satrákēs** (>Ber. 698) were seemingly defeated by the Macedonians (**Arr.** 4.4.1–9).

47. Datámēs (= Ber. 245)

[**Arr.** 2.2.2.4–5]

- High officer of the Persian fleet; was sent by ¹**Autophradátēs** (>Ber. 188) and **Pharnábazos** (>Ber. 766) with ten ships to subjugate the Cyclades, while they themselves proceeded with a hundred ships to Tenedos (**Arr.** 2.2.2).
- His fleet was attacked at night at Siphnus by the Macedonian admiral Proteas, forcing him to leave behind all but two ships, with which he escaped to join the main fleet (**Arr.** 2.2.4–5).

48. Dataphérnēs (= Ber. 246)

[**Arr.** 3.29.6; 30.1–3.5; **Curt.** 7.5.21–26; 36–43; 8.3.16]

- Bactrian aristocrat belonging to **Bēssos'** (>Ber. 212) entourage.
- Planned, along with **Spitaménēs** (>Ber. 717) and **Katánēs** (>Ber. 415), after crossing the Oxus in flight from Alexander, to hand Bessus over to the Macedonians (**Arr.** 3.29.6; **Curt.** 7.5.21–26). Allegedly, Bessus was left behind by Dataphernes and his fellow conspirators to be apprehended by Macedonian forces dispatched under the command of Ptolemy (**Arr.** 3.30.1–3); Aristoboulus *apud* Arrianus (3.30.5) reports that Bessus was handed over naked and bound to Ptolemy by Spitamenes and Dataphernes personally. Curtius further relates that Bessus was brought bound, naked, and in chains to Alexander at the river Iaxartes by Spitamenes and possibly Katanes (**Curt.** 7.5.36–43).
- Along with Spitamenes and Katanes led the east Iranian revolt (**Curt.** 7.6.14–15; 8.3.16); after Spitamenes' death, Dataphernes was taken cap-

tive, bound, and surrendered by Scythians to Alexander (**Curt.** 8.3.16).

49. Drypētis (= Ber. 290)

[**Arr.** 2.11.9; 3.22.6; 7.4.4–5; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; 5.2.17–18; 10.5.20; **D.S.** 17.67.1; 17.107.6; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.1–3; 72.4]

- Daughter of Darius and ¹**Státeira** (>Ber. 721), granddaughter of **Sisýgambis** (>Ber. 711), and sister of ²**Státeira** (>Ber. 722) and the infant **Ochos** (>Ber. 833), who were taken captive by Alexander following the Persian defeat at Issus and the seizure of the royal camp (τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἅμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλαί; **Arr.** 2.11.9; *sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non maiestate solum sed etiam aetate venerabilis haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum...at in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum sed etiam illius maerore confectae*; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.1–3).
- Was left behind by Alexander in Susa together with Siygambis, ²Stateira, and Ochus to be instructed in the Greek language (**D.S.** 17.67.1; **Curt.** 5.2.17–18; see also **Arr.** 3.22.6).
- At the weddings at Susa, was married to Hephaestion, so that their children might become cousins of Alexander's own offspring from his wedlock with ²Stateira (**Arr.** 7.4.4–5; **D.S.** 17.107.6).
- Was in mourning on behalf of her husband Hephaestion in her grandmother's (Sisygambis') company when news of Alexander's death reached them (**Curt.** 10.5.20).
- Was murdered together with her sister ²Stateira after Alexander's death by **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688), who was with child from Alexander, and jealous of ²Stateira, all with the consent of Perdicas (**Plu.** *Alex.* 72.4).

50. Gobares (= Ber. 238)

[**Curt.** 5.6.10]

- Persian governor (*praefectus*) of Pasargadae who surrendered the city to Alexander without fight (**Curt.** 5.6.10).

51. Hydárnēs (= Ber. 759)

[Arr. 7.6.5; Curt. 4.5.13–14]

- Son of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brother of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82), and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154) (Arr. 7.6.5).
- Probably served under the command of ¹**Autophradátēs** (>Ber. 188) and **Pharnábazos** (>Ber. 766); during the Persian counter-offensive launched by the admirals, Hydarnes probably gained control of Milet, which, however, was conquered again by the Macedonian leader Balacrus (Curt. 4.5.13–14).
- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); his own brother **Artiboles** (>Ber. 154); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587) and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526) to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (Arr. 7.6.5).

52. Hydrákēs (= Ber. 760)

[Arr. Ind. 27.1]

- A Gedrosian pilot who took the Macedonian fleet under Nearchus from Mosarna to Carmania (Arr. Ind. 27.1).

53. Hystáspēs (= Ber. 763)

[Arr. 3.19.4; 7.6.5; Curt. 6.2.7]

- Representative of the high Persian nobility; probably an Achaemenid (*propinquus hic Darei fuerat*; Curt. 6.2.7).
- Was the husband of King Artaxerxes Ochus' grandchild, herself probably the daughter of **Bisθánēs** (>Ber. 215) (Arr. 3.19.4; Curt. 6.2.7).
- Was commander of a large army (*magni et ipse exercitus praetor*; Curt. 6.2.7); probably took part in the battle at Gaugamela, for his spouse was taken prisoner only following the death of King Darius (Curt. 6.2.7).
- Was appointed commander of the Iranian noblemen who were admitted to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi, namely, **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814);

Itánēs (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526) (Arr. 7.6.5).

54. Ilioneus/Hystanēs (= Ber. 384)

[Curt. 3.13.13]

- Young son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), who, along with his mother, fell into the hands of Parmenion as he took Damascus by treason, to which the baggage train of the Persian army at Issus, comprising numerous aristocratic women and their children, had been taken (Curt. 3.13.13).

55. Itánēs (= Ber. 392)

[Arr. 7.6.5; Curt. 8.4.22–23]

- Son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688) (Arr. 7.6.5).
- Was in Alexander's entourage following the marriage of Rhoxane with Alexander (Curt. 8.4.22–23).
- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526) (Arr. 7.6.5).

56. Katánēs (= Ber. 415)

[Arr. 3.29.6; 30.1–3; 4.21.1; 22.1; 7.5.36–43; Curt. 7.5.21–26; 36–43; 6.14–15; 8.3.16; 5.2]

- One of the magnates of Sogdian Paraitacene (Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2), like **Sisimíthrēs/Choriénēs** (>Ber. 708; Arr. 4.21.1).
- Was involved in the conspiracy of **Spitaménēs** (>Ber. 717) and **Dataphérnēs** (>Ber. 246), after crossing the Oxus in flight from Alexander, to hand over **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) to the Macedonians (Arr. 3.29.6; Curt. 7.5.21–26). Allegedly, Bessus was left behind by Dataphernes and his fellow conspirators to be apprehended by Macedonian forces dispatched under the command of Ptolemy (Arr. 3.30.1–3); Aristoboulus *apud* Arrianus (3.30.5) reports that Bessus was handed over naked and bound to Ptolemy by Spitamenes and Dataphernes personally. Curtius

further relates that Bessus was brought bound, naked, and in chains, to Alexander at the river Iaxartes by Spitamenes and apparently Katanes (Curt. 7.5.36–43), since the latter is mentioned demonstrating his dexterity in arrow-shooting by keeping birds off the body of the crucified Bessus (Curt. 7.5.41–42).

- Led along with **Austánēs** (>Ber. 186) (Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2)—see also **Sisimíthrēs/ Choriénēs** (>Ber. 708) (Arr. 4.21.1)—Spitamenes, and Data-phernes the east Iranian revolt against Alexander (Curt. 7.6.14–15; 8.3.16), but was finally killed in battle by Craterus, whom Alexander had charged with his and Austanes' submission on his way to Bactra (Arr. 4.22.1; Curt. 8.5.2).
- Both Spitamenes and Katanes seem to be present in a Babylonian chronicle reporting on Darius III and Alexander. Both reportedly died a violent death: *Kidinnu ina kakki iddāk* "Kidinnu was killed by the sword," (van der Spek 2003, obv. 8'), which could validate Curtius' notice about Katanes dying in battle against Craterus (*Catanes in proelio occisus*; Curt. 8.5.2).

57. Kophén (= Ber. 459)

[Arr. 2.11.9; 15.1; 3.23.7; 4.19.3; 7.6.5; Curt. 3.8.12; 7.11.5; 21–26; D.S. 17.32.3; Polyæn. 4.3.29]

- Son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), and brother of ¹**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 148) and ¹**Ariobarzánēs** (>Ber. 115) (Arr. 3.23.7).
- Led (Arr. 2.15.1) the Persian army's baggage train to Damascus before the battle of Issus (Arr. 2.11.9; 15.1; Curt. 3.8.12; D.S. 17.32.3).
- After Issus, probably accompanied the king to Hyrcania, and surrendered only to Alexander at *Zadrakarta* after Darius' death along with his father Artabazus, and his brothers Arsames and ¹Ariobarzanes, as well as the satrap of the Taurians ²**Autophradátēs** (>Ber. 189) (Arr. 3.23.7).
- After his surrender, was in the entourage of Alexander, who used him in diplomatic missions; Kophen was employed as mediator in the negotiations of Alexander with **Ariamāzēs/ Arimases** (>Ber. 112), who was holding the "Sogdian Rock" (*una erat petra quam Ariamazes Sogdianus cum xxx milibus armatorum obtinebat*; Curt. 7.11.1–5).
- He (*a herald* according to Arr. 4.19.3) persuaded Ariamazes/Arimases to surrender after revealing to him that Macedonian soldiers had seized the summit of the rock and threatened the fort (Curt. 7.11.21–26; Polyæn. 4.3.29).

- Was admitted together with a few other Iranian noblemen, namely, **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antibēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526), to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (Arr. 7.6.5).

58. Madates/Medates (= Ber. 483)

[Curt. 5.3.4–12]

- Governor (*praefectus*) of the Mountain-Uxians (Curt. 5.3.4).
- Married to the daughter of a sister of queen mother **Sisýgambis** (>Ber. 711) (Curt. 5.3.12), thus a relative of Darius.
- After initiating a successful resistance against Alexander, was forced to withdraw to the citadel of the besieged city and request through the intermediary of the queen mother his and his companions' pardon (Curt. 5.3.5–12).

59. Mauákēs (= Ber. 490)

[Arr. 3.8.3–4; 3.11.3; D.S. 17.59.3]

- Commander of the Sacae contingent of mounted archers at the battle of Granicus, who were not Darius' subjects, but were engaged in the battle due to an alliance with the king (Arr. 3.8.3–4).
- His troops were arranged on the right wing (Arr. 3.11.3), and hence under the overall command of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484) (D.S. 17.59.3).

60. Mazaíos (= Ber. 484)

[Arr. 3.7.1–2; 8.6; 11.4; 14.6; 15.1–3; 16.4; 4.18.3; 7.6.5; Curt. 4.9.7–8, 12, 14; 10.11–12, 14; 12.1; 15.14–17; 16.1–2, 4–7; 5.1.18, 44; 8.3.17; D.S. 17.55.1–2; 58.2; 59.5; 60.5.7; Plu. Alex. 39.6]

- Father of **Antibēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82), **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), and **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) (Arr. 7.6.5).
- Representative of the high Persian nobility (*vir illustris*, Curt. 5.1.18; μέγιστος παρὰ Δαρείῳ γενομένος, Plu. Alex. 39.6); belonged to Darius' φίλοι (D.S. 17.55.1).
- Judging from his command at Gaugamela, probably satrap of Syria and Mesopotamia (Arr. 3.8.6).
- Is not mentioned at Issus; but is reported to have been sent by Darius, while Alexander

- advanced into Syria, with a force of 3,000 horsemen (**Arr.** 3.7.1; wrongly placed in **Curt.** 4.12.1, who also mentions 6,000 troops, **Curt.** 4.9.7), among them some 2,000 Greek mercenaries (**Arr.** 3.7.1), to prevent the Macedonian vanguard from bridging the Euphrates (**Arr.** 3.7.1; **Curt.** 4.9.7–8.12), the Tigris according to Diodorus (17.55.1).
- Was forced to retreat to Arabela as Alexander appeared with the Macedonian army (**Arr.** 3.7.2; **Curt.** 4.10.14).
- Is reported to have been sent a second time with 6,000 horsemen to hinder Alexander's crossing the Tigris, and to have laid waste the territories around the Tigris (**Curt.** 4.9.7–8.14; 10.11–12.14; **D.S.** 17.55.1–2).
- Is reported to have sent **Satropátēs** (>Ber. 699) along with 1,000 horsemen as vanguard against Alexander (**Curt.** 4.9.24), although Curtius also attributes his dispatch to Darius (**Curt.** 4.9.7).
- In the battle of Gaugamela, Mazaius led the troops of Coele-Syria and Mesopotamian Syria in the right wing (**Arr.** 3.8.6; 11.4), over which he had supreme command (**D.S.** 17.59.5).
- After attacking the Macedonians with Scythian chariots (**D.S.** 17.58.2; on wrong place **Curt.** 4.15.14–17), Mazaius sought to circumvent the left Macedonian wing with his cavalry, so as to fall at the back of Parmenion (**Arr.** 3.14.6); although initially successful (**Arr.** 3.14.6), for Parmenion was forced to request Alexander's help (**Arr.** 3.15.1; **Curt.** 4.16.1–2; **D.S.** 17.60.7), Mazaius was ultimately pushed back because of Darius' taking flight, and forced to retreat (**Arr.** 3.15.1–3; **Curt.** 4.16.4–7; **D.S.** 17.60.5).
- Fled after the defeat at Issus to Babylon (**Curt.** 4.16.7), which he eventually surrendered to Alexander (**Curt.** 5.1.17).
- Became satrap of Babylon by Alexander's grace (**Arr.** 3.16.4; **Curt.** 5.1.44).
- After his death in 328, he was followed in office by **Staménēs/Datamenes** (>Ber. 718; **Arr.** 4.18.3; **Curt.** 8.3.17).

61. **Mazákēs** (= Ber. 485)

[**Arr.** 2.13.3; 3.1.2; **Curt.** 4.1.27–28; 7.4; **D.S.** 17.48.3–4]

- Probably first deputy of **Sabákēs/Sataces** (>Ber. 689), satrap of Egypt (**Curt.** 4.1.28), during his absence at the campaign of Issus.

- Satrap of Egypt after Sabakes/Sataces' death at Issus (**Arr.** 3.1.2).
- Successfully defeated the Macedonian mercenary leader Amyntas, who, after having fought at Issus for Darius, attacked Egypt (**Arr.** 2.13.3; **Curt.** 4.1.27–28; **D.S.** 17.48.3–4).
- Did not oppose Alexander, and following the latter's arrival in Memphis delivered the satrapy and the cities (**Arr.** 3.1.2), as well as the king's treasures to Alexander (**Curt.** 4.7.4).

62. **Mazénēs** (= Ber. 487)

[**Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3; **Str.** 16.5.5]

- Persian ὑπαρχος of the island of Oarakta in the Persian Golf (**Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3).
- Sailed together with **Miθropástēs** (>Ber. 528), who had found refuge on the island (**Str.** 16.5.5) along with Nearchus, whose expedition had reached the island, farther to Susa (**Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3).

63. **Mithracenes** (= Ber. 522)

[**Curt.** 5.13.9; **Just.** 11.5]

- Persian nobleman who, along with **Orxínēs/Orsines** (>Ber. 592), surrendered to Alexander, probably in Thara (**Just.** 11.5), following the king's arrest by **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) (**Curt.** 5.13.9).
- Reported the distance to Darius' party, and indicated a shortcut thither (**Curt.** 5.13.9).

64. **Miθraústēs** (= Ber. 523)

[**Arr.** 3.8.5; 11.7]

- Persian nobleman who, along with **Oróntēs** (>Ber. 593), led the Armenian contingent at Gaugamela (**Arr.** 3.8.5) that was attached to the right wing (**Arr.** 3.11.7).

65. **Miθrénēs** (= Ber. 524)

[**Arr.** 1.17.3–4; 3.16.5; **Curt.** 3.12.6; **D.S.** 17.21.7; 64.6; 19.23.3; **Polyaen.** 4.8.3; **Str.** 11.531]

- Persian nobleman, commander of Sardis' fort (φρουράρχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι; **Arr.** 1.17.3; **Curt.** 3.12.6; called satrap by Diodorus (**D.S.** 17.21.7); Mithrenes surrendered the citadel and the treasury of Sardis to Alexander, who was marching towards the city (**Arr.** 1.17.3; 3.16.5; **Curt.** 3.12.6; **D.S.** 17.21.7; 64.6).
- Was admitted into Alexander's entourage (**Arr.** 1.17.4).

- After the battle of Issus was used by Alexander to communicate with the imprisoned Achæmenid princesses (**Curt.** 3.12.6).
- At Babylon, Mithrenes was appointed satrap of Armenia (**Arr.** 3.16.5; **Curt.** 5.1.44; **D.S.** 17.64.6), of which he apparently did not take control, for Darius' satrap **Oróntēs** (>Ber. 593) is reported to have still been in possession of the satrapy (**D.S.** 19.23.3; **Polyaen.** 4.8.3; also **Str.** 11.531).

66. Miθridátēs (= Ber. 525)

[**Arr.** 1.15.7–8; 16.3; **D.S.** 17.20.1–5]

- Persian nobleman, the king's son-in-law (**Arr.** 1.15.7; 16.3).
- One of the Persian commanders (ἡγεμόνες) who fought at Granicus in single combat with Alexander, during which the Macedonian thrust his lance into Mithridates' face and threw him to the ground (**Arr.** 1.15.7). The single combat is attributed by Diodorus (17.20.1–5) to the satrap of Lydia and Ionia **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715).
- Died at Granicus along with **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); Spithridates, satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzánēs** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (>Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16.3).

67. Miθrobaïos (= Ber. 526)

[**Arr.** 7.6.5]

- Brother of **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32).
- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely, **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaïos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) and **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812), sons of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and his own brother **Aigobares**, to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (**Arr.** 7.6.5).

68. Miθrobouzánēs (= Ber. 527)

[**Arr.** 1.16.3; **D.S.** 17.21.3]

- Persian ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia (**Arr.** 1.16.3); took part in the battle of Granicus by leading the Cappadocians (**D.S.** 17.21.3).

- Died at Granicus along with **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (= Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16.3).

69. Miθropástēs (= Ber. 528)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8; 16.3; **Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3; **Str.** 16.5.5]

- Son of **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia (**Str.** 16.5.5), although Arrianus calls him ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8).
- Was banished by Darius, conceivably in connection with his father's suicide after the battle at Granicus (**Arr.** 1.16.3), to the island of Oarakta (**Str.** 16.5.5), where **Mazénēs** (>Ber. 487) was ὑπαρχος (**Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3).
- Sailed together with Mazanes along with Nearchus, whose expedition had reached the island, to Susa (**Arr. Ind.** 37.2–3).

70. Nabarzánēs (= Ber. 543)

[**Arr.** 1.25.1–4; 3.21.1–4; 23.4; **Curt.** 3.9.1; 5.9.2–11; 10.10–15; 12.7–17; 13.15–18; 6.3.9, 6; 4.22]

- Chiliarch of Darius (**Arr.** 3.21.1; 23.4).
- Reportedly sent a letter (**Curt.** 3.7.12) to Alexander's general Alexander, son of Aeropus, the commander of the Thessalian cavalry, following the latter's overtures for an alliance with the Persian throne, through the intermediary of ²**Sisínēs** (>Ber. 710), requesting the assassination of the Macedonian king in exchange for Persian money and support for his accession (**Arr.** 1.25.1–4).
- Commanded in the battle of Issus the entire Persian cavalry of the right wing (**Curt.** 3.9.1).
- Is not mentioned at Gaugamela, albeit he is reported to have accompanied Darius in his flight to the East (**Arr.** 3.21.1).
- Curtius (5.9.3–8) reports that prior to the arrest of Darius by Nabarzanes, **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212), and **Barsaéntēs** (>Ber. 205) (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.9.2–3; 12.7–17; 6.6.36), the former had tried to persuade the king to relinquish his rule (*imperium*) and to hand it over to Bessus temporarily, as long as needed to expel the enemies from Asia, for *novis initiis et omnibus opus est* (**Curt.** 5.9.3–8).
- Under the threat of being put to death by an angry Darius (**Curt.** 5.9.10–11), Nabarzanes slipped away from the camp and along with

Bessus withdrew their common forces from the rest of the army (**Curt.** 5.9.11).

- Was admitted later to the king's presence after having made amends for his recommendation (**Curt.** 5.10.10–15); was able, along with Bessus and the Arachosian satrap Barsaentes, to take King Darius prisoner in his tent (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 5.12.7–17; 6.6.36).
- Following the assassination of Darius by Bessus, in which Nabarzanes is not reported to have participated actively (**Curt.** 5.13.15–17), separated himself from Bessus, in order to render their pursuit more arduous, and headed for Hyrcania, whereas Bessus went to Bactria (**Curt.** 5.13.18).
- Took possession of Hyrcania, whose satrap under Darius was **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814) (**Curt.** 6.3.9).
- According to Arrianus (3.23.4), surrendered along with Phrataphernes and possibly his two sons, ensuing King Darius' death, but prior to the submission of other Achaemenid grandees at *Zadracarta* in Hyrcania. Curtius (6.4.22–23), however, reports that Nabarzanes' submission took place later, after his seizure of the Hyrcanian satrapy, and following a prior agreement (*fidus*) that allowed him to come to Alexander (**Curt.** 6.4.22–23).
- {The report of Nabarzanes' early submission prior to Alexander's arrival in Hyrcania in Arrianus' account (3.23.4), could have been conditioned by the report of an agreement of safe conduct towards a later submission, as attested in Curtius (6.4.22)}

71. Niphátēs (= Ber. 573)
[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 16.3]

- Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) together with ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilicia; **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; and **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zeleia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10).
- Was one of the commanders (ἡγεμόνες τῶν Περσῶν) who died at the battle of Granicus, among whom were Petenes, Spithridates, satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzānes** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525),

the king's son-in-law; **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (>Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16.3).

72. Ochos (= Ber. 833)

[**Arr.** 2.11.9; 3.22.6; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; 3.12.26; 5.2.17–18; **D.S.** 17.35.2; 37.2; 67.1; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.1–3]

- Infant son of King Darius and ¹**Státeira** (>Ber. 721), grandson of **Sisýgambis** (>Ber. 711), and brother of ²**Státeira** (>Ber. 722) and **Drypétis** (>Ber. 290), who were taken captive by Alexander following the Persian defeat at Issus and the seizure of the royal camp (τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφῇ Δαρείου καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἔάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἅμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναικες οὐ πολλαί; **Arr.** 2.11.9; *sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non maiestate solum sed etiam aetate venerabilis haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum . . . at in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum sed etiam illius maerore confectae*; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.1–3).
- Reportedly six years old when captured (**D.S.** 17.35.2; 37.2; **Curt.** 3.11.24).
- Apparently, was admired on account of his fearlessness by Alexander and Hephæstion (**D.S.** 17.37.2; **Curt.** 3.12.26).
- Was left behind by Alexander in Susa together with Siygambis, ²Stateira, and Drypetis to be instructed in the Greek language (**D.S.** 17.67.1; **Curt.** 5.2.17–18; see also **Arr.** 3.22.6).
- End unknown.

73. Omárēs (= Ber. 832)
[**Arr.** 1.14.4; 16.3]

- Leader of the 20,000 foreign mercenary infantry (**Arr.** 1.14.4; 16.3).
- Was one of the commanders (ἡγεμόνες) who died at the battle of Granicus, among whom were **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzānes** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (>Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16.3).

74. Ordánēs (= Ber. 590)
[Arr. 6.27.3]

- Iranian nobleman who rebelled against Alexander, and whom Craterus on his way back from the Indian campaign captured and brought to Alexander in Carmania (Arr. 6.27.3).

75. Oróntēs (= Ber. 593)
[Arr. 3.8.5; 11.7; D.S. 19.23.3; Plu. Art. 27.4; Polyae. 4.8.3; Str. 11.531]

- Persian nobleman who along with Miθraústēs (>Ber. 523) led the Armenian contingent at Gaugamela (Arr. 3.8.5) that was attached to the right wing (Arr. 3.11.7).
- Was possibly satrap of Armenia, for Diodorus mentions a certain Orontes as satrap of Armenia (D.S. 19.23.3; Polyae. 4.8.3), and Strabo indicates a certain Orontes as the last member of Hydárnēs' (>Ber. 759) family in Armenia (Str. 11.531), which together with the account of his command over the Armenian contingent at Gaugamela could support the hypothesis of him being the satrap of Armenia.
- Was married to Rhodogune, daughter of Artaxerxes II (Plu. Art. 27.4).

76. Orontobátēs (= Ber. 594)
[Arr. 1.23.1–3, 8; 2.5.7; 3.8.5; Curt. 4.12.7; Str. 14.654]

- Persian nobleman who became co-regent of Caria along with his father-in-law Pixodarus (Str. 14.654), lord and satrap of Caria (Str. 14.654; Arr. 1.23.8).
- Satrap of Caria following Pixodarus' death (Arr. 1.23.8).
- Successfully defended Halicarnassus along with Memnon against Alexander (Arr. 1.23.1), although he was eventually obliged to retreat into the city's citadel after having set fire to the houses near the city walls (Arr. 1.23.2–3).
- Was able to keep his hold on the citadel of Halicarnassus, as well as to Myndus, Caunus, Thera, Callipolis, and further to win over Cos and Triopium, but was beaten by Ptolemy and the satrap of Lydia Asander in battle (καὶ ἐνταῦθα μανθάνει Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀσάνδρον ὅτι ἐκράτησαν Ὀροντοβάτου τοῦ Πέρσου; Arr. 2.5.7).
- At Gaugamela led a division of Persians, Mardians, and Sogdians together with ¹Ariobarzánēs

(>Ber. 115), under the command of **Orxínēs/Orsinēs** (>Ber. 592) (Curt. 4.12.7); Arrianus (3.8.5), however, ascribes to them all an equal command over tribes bordering the Red Sea.

77. Orophérnēs (Olophérnēs)
[D.S. 18.16.1–3; 31.19.2–4; Just. 13.6.1]

- Possibly son of Ariamnes or Ariaramnes (D.S. 31.19.2), and brother of the Cappadocian δυνάστης ¹Ariaráthēs (>Ber. 113) (D.S. 18.16.1; Just. 13.6.1 calls him: *rex*).
- Father of ²Ariaráthēs (>Ber. 113), whom his brother ¹Ariarathes had adopted as his successor, being himself without legitimate children (D.S. 31.19.4).
- Was sent by ¹Ariarathes to participate in King Artaxerxes Ochus' campaign in Egypt, where he distinguished himself greatly (D.S. 31.19.3).

78. Orsodátēs (= Ber. 596)
[Plu. Alex. 57.2]

- Possibly an eastern magnate whom Alexander shot dead because he had revolted from him (καὶ τῶν ἀποστάντων βαρβάρων Ὀρσοδάτην αὐτὸς κατετόξευσε).

79. Orxínes (Arr.)/Orsines-Orsilos (Curt.) (= Ber. 592)
[Arr. 3.8.5; 6.29.2; 30.1–2; Curt. 4.12.8; 10.1.22–38]

- Representative of the high nobility, descendant of one of the "Seven Persians," tracing his genealogy back to Cyrus (Curt. 4.12.8; 10.1.23); an Achaemenid?
- At Gaugamela led a division of Persians, Mardians, and Sogdians as the superior of ¹Ariobarzánēs (>Ber. 115) and Orontobátēs (>Ber. 594) (Curt. 4.12.7); Arrianus (3.8.5), however, ascribes to all of them an equal command over tribes bordering the Red Sea.
- Without appointment took control of the government of Persis (of Pasargadae according to Curt. 10.1.22) during the absence of the king in India, and following the death—due to illness—of Phrasaórtēs (>Ber. 813), whom Alexander had appointed satrap of Persia (Arr. 6.29.2).
- Received Alexander in Pasargadae with gifts (Curt. 10.1.24–25).
- Was accused of injustice towards Persians and of robbing royal tombs and temples, notably

the Cyrus tomb, (**Arr.** 6.30.1–2; **Curt.** 10.1.30–35), and finally executed by Alexander (**Arr.** 6.30.2; **Curt.** 10.1.37). While Arrianus seems to accept the accusations against Orxines (**Arr.** 6.30.1–2), Curtius emphatically maintains the latter's innocence, and attributes his disgrace entirely to the machinations of **Bagóas** (>Ber. 195), Alexander's *Lustknabe*, to whom Orxines did not pay any respect (*nam cum omnes amicos regis donis super iposorum vota coluisset Bagoae spadoni qui Alexandrum obsequio corporis devinxerat sibi nullum honorem habuit*; **Curt.** 10.1.25–38).

80. Oxáθrēs/Oxyártēs (= Ber. 585)

[**Arr.** 3.16.6, 9; 19.2; 7.4.1; **Curt.** 5.2.8, 17; **Plu.** *Alex.* 68.4]

- Son of **Aboulítēs/Aboulétēs** (>Ber. 5), satrap of Susiana under Darius III (**Arr.** 3.16.9; **Curt.** 5.2.17).
- Commander of the Susian and Uxian contingents at Gaugamela (**Arr.** 3.8.5).
- At his father's behest, disclosed the latter's intention to surrender to Alexander (**Arr.** 3.16.6; **Curt.** 5.2.8).
- Was made satrap of the Paraetacae (**Arr.** 3.19.2).
- Was executed by Alexander, who slew him with his own hand, running him through with a spear (τῶν δὲ Ἀβουλήτου παίδων ἓνα μὲν Ὁξάρτην αὐτὸς ἀπέκτεινε σαρῖση διελάσας) after his return from India on the grounds that he had omitted to provide relief for Alexander's returning troops, as it seems, in spite of his father's monetary tribute (**Arr.** 7.4.1; **Plu.** *Alex.* 68.4, calls him Ὁξάρτης).

81. Oxyárθēs (= Ber. 587)

[**Arr.** 3.28.10; 4.18.4; 19.5–6; 20.3; 21.6–6; 6.15.3; 7.6.5; **Curt.** 8.4.21–30; 9.8.10; **D.S.** 18.3.3; **Plu.** *Alex.* 58.2–3; **Str.** 11.517]

- Bactrian nobleman (**Arr.** 4.18.4). Curtius (8.4.21) depicts him prior to the marriage of his daughter with Alexander as the noble satrap of Bactria (*inde [Alex.] pervenit in regionem cui Oxyartes satrapes nobilis praeerat*); and after the marriage of his daughter as *praetor Bactrianorum* (**Curt.** 9.8.10).
- Father of three sons (**Curt.** 8.4.21–22), among them **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392) (**Arr.** 7.6.5) and several daughters (**Arr.** 4.18.4), among them **Rhoxánē**

(>Ber. 688) (**Arr.** 4.19.5–6; 7.6.5; **Curt.** 8.4.23–30), the future wife of Alexander (*hoc modo rex Asiae et Europae introductam inter convivales ludos matrimonio sibi adiunxit ex captiva geniturus qui victoribus imperaret*).

- One of **Bēssos'** (>Ber. 212) partisans, with whom he escaped beyond the Oxus (**Arr.** 3.28.10); is reported to have continued his revolt after Bessus' death (**Arr.** 4.18.4).
- Placed his wife and daughters in the "Sogdian Rock" of **Ariamázēs/Arimases** (>Ber. 112) (**Arr.** 4.18.4), where they, notably Rhoxane, were captured by Alexander (**Arr.** 4.19.5–6; **Str.** 11.517).
- Surrendered to Alexander following the captivity of his wife and daughters, probably also because of the news of Alexander's intention to marry his daughter Rhoxane (**Arr.** 4.20.4; **Curt.** 8.4.21).
- Was used as an intermediary in negotiations with **Sisimíθrēs/Choriénēs** (>Ber. 708) whom he had apparently befriended (**Arr.** 4.21.6–6; **Plu.** *Alex.* 58.2–3; **Str.** 11.517).
- Received the satrapy of the Parapamisadae after Alexander removed the former satrap **Tyriēspis** (>Ber. 758) from his office (**Arr.** 6.15.3); Curtius (9.8.10) does not mention the new satrapy of Oxyarthes by name, but only that he was given more territories to govern.
- His son Itanes was admitted to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (**Arr.** 7.6.5).
- Seems to have governed his satrapy also after Alexander's death (**D.S.** 18.3.3).

82. Oxyáθrēs/Exáθrēs (= Ber. 586)

[**Arr.** 7.4.5; **Curt.** 3.11.8; 3.13.13; 6.2.9; 7.5.40; 10.5.23; **D.S.** 17.34.2–3; 77.4; 83.9; 20.109.7; **Plu.** *Alex.* 43.3; **Just.** 12.5.11; **Str.** 12.544]

- Son of Arsanes and the queen mother **Sýsigambis** (>Ber. 711); and brother of King Darius and **Státeira** (>Ber. 721); an Achaemenid (**Arr.** 7.4.5; **Curt.** 3.13.13; **D.S.** 17.34.2; **Str.** 12.544).
- Father of **Amatrínē/Amēstris** (>Ber. 50) (**Arr.** 7.4.5; **D.S.** 20.109.7).
- Fought valiantly at Issus, where he threw himself, with his cavalry detachment, against Alexander, who was heading for the king's chariot (**Curt.** 3.11.8; **D.S.** 17.34.2–3).
- He probably submitted to Alexander following the death of Darius (**Curt.** 6.2.9).

- Was later admitted among Alexander's Companions (ἑταῖροι; **Plu. Alex.** 43.3, calls him Ἐξάθρης: τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν Ἐξάθρην εἰς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀνέλαβεν), and ultimately became one of Alexander's personal bodyguards (**Curt.** 7.5.40; **D.S.** 17.77.4).
- After the capture of **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212), Alexander handed over the latter to Oxyathres for punishment (**Curt.** 7.5.40; **D.S.** 17.83.9; **Just.** 12.5.11).
- Could be identical with the only child of Sysigambis, who, as she claimed, was still alive in 323 (**Curt.** 10.5.23).

83. Oxydātēs/Oxodates (= Ber. 588)

[**Arr.** 3.20.3; 4.18.3; **Curt.** 6.2.11; 8.3.17]

- Persian nobleman who was imprisoned by King Darius in Susa, and liberated by Alexander, who subsequently came to trust him (**Arr.** 3.20.3; **Curt.** 6.2.11).
- Was appointed at Rhagae as the new satrap of Media (**Arr.** 3.20.3); Curtius reports of his appointment following Darius' death (**Curt.** 6.2.11).
- Was replaced in Media by **Atropātēs** (>Ber. 180), the old satrap of Media, who, after his surrender, consequent upon Darius' death, was reinstated as the new satrap in his old satrapy (**Arr.** 4.18.3); Curtius confuses Atropates with **Arsaces** (**Curt.** 8.3.17).

84. Ozines (= Ber. 579)

[**Arr.** 6.24.1; **Curt.** 9.10.19]

- Persian nobleman, whom Craterus arrested on his way back from the Indian campaign, accusing him of rebellion along with **Zariaspes** (>Ber. 335) (**Curt.** 9.10.19).
- Alexander was informed of his arrest in Gedrosia (**Curt.** 9.10.19), probably in the Gedrosian capital *Pura* (**Arr.** 6.24.1).

85. Parúsatis (= Ber. 607)

[**Arr.** 7.4.4; **Curt.** 3.13.12]

- Younger daughter of King Artaxerxes Ochus (**Arr.** 7.4.4).
- Was made captive together with her two sisters and mother, along with numerous aristocratic women and their children, after the Persian defeat at Issus by Parmenion, who through

treason took Damascus, to which the baggage train of the Persian army had been taken (**Curt.** 3.13.12: *inter quas tres fuere virgines Ochi qui ante Dareum regnaverant filiae . . . in eodem grege uxor quoque eiusdem Ochi fuit*).

- At the weddings at Susa, was married together with **²Státeira** (>Ber. 722), to Alexander himself (**Arr.** 7.4.4).

86. Peténēs (= Ber. 632)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 16.3; **Curt.** 3.4.3]

- Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) together with **²Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilicia; **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Spíthridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; and **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zeleeia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10).
- Was one of the commanders (ἡγεμόνες) who died at the battle of Granicus, among whom were Niphates; Spithridates (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzánēs** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (>Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16.3).

87. Pharasmánēs (Arr.)/Phrataphernes (Curt.)
(= Ber. 765)

[**Arr.** 4.15.4–5; **Curt.** 8.1.8]

- Lord of the Choresmians (**Arr.** 4.15.4: Χορασμίων Βασιλεύς; also **Curt.** 8.1.8).
- Submitted to Alexander at *Zariaspa* (**Curt.** 8.1.8) along with 1,500 horsemen and promised an alliance with Alexander if he wished to subdue the Colchians and the Amazons (**Arr.** 4.15.4).
- Was sent back to his realm after being recommended to **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), the satrap of Bactria (**Arr.** 4.15.5).

88. Pharnábazos (= Ber. 766)

[**Arr.** 2.1.3–5; 2.2.1–7; 2.13.4–6; 3.23.7; 7.4.6; **Curt.** 3.3.1; 4.1.37; **Plu. Alex.** 21.4; **Plu. Eum.** 1.3]

- Son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), brother of **¹Arsámēs** (>Ber. 148); **Kophén** (>Ber. 459) (**Arr.** 3.23.7); and the young **Ilioneus/Hystanes** (>Ber. 384); as well as of **¹Apámē/Artakáma** (>Ber. 97);

- Artōnīs** (>Ber. 155), and **Barsínē** (>Ber. 206) (**Arr.** 7.4.6; **Plu.** *Eum.* 1.3; **Plu.** *Alex.* 21.4).
- Together with ¹**Autophradātēs** (>Ber. 188) was one of the commanders of the Persian navy under Pharnabazus' uncle Memnon (**Arr.** 2.1.3), who prior to his death during the siege of Mytilene made him commander-in-chief of the fleet, pending the king's decision (**Arr.** 2.1.3; **Curt.** 4.1.37).
 - Besieged and invested Mytilene after Memnon's death, together with Autophradates (**Arr.** 2.1.3)
 - Against prior agreements with Mytilene, established Diogenes, one of the exiles, as tyrant; placed a garrison within the city under the command of Lycomedes of Rhodes; and levied taxes (**Arr.** 2.1.4–5; **Curt.** 4.1.37). Curtius confuses Mytilene with Milesus: a *Milesiis deinde Pharnabazus praefectus Persicae classis pecunia exacta*).
 - Sailed with foreign mercenaries for Lycia, while Autophradates was charged with the conquest of *other* islands (**Arr.** 2.2.1).
 - Discharged the foreign mercenaries to Thymondas, son of Mentor, and was confirmed by the king, through Thymondas' intermediary, as successor to Memnon's command (**Arr.** 2.2.1–2; **Curt.** 3.3.1).
 - Having joined Autophradates, the admirals sent **Datāmēs** (>Ber. 245) with ten ships to subjugate the Cyclades, while they themselves proceeded with a hundred ships to Tenedus, which was brought under Persian control (**Arr.** 2.2.2–3; **Curt.** 4.1.37).
 - Sent Aristomenes to the Hellespont to recover the coast [*Aristomen[es] qui ad Hellespontiorum recipendam a Dareo erat missus*; **Curt.** 4.1.37).
 - Seems to have invested Chios together with Autophradates (**Arr.** 3.2.3–5); established a Persian garrison there (**Arr.** 2.13.4; **Curt.** 4.1.37); and helped with the reinstatement of the pro-Persian oligarchic faction (**Arr.** 3.2.3–5), before departing for Siphnus (**Arr.** 2.13.4; **Curt.** 4.1.37).
 - After the Persian defeat at Issus, Pharnabazus sailed with twelve triremes and 1,500 foreign mercenaries for Chios to secure the city against possible rebellion (**Arr.** 2.13.4–5); while Autophradates agreed to the demands of King Agis of Sparta, with whom the Persian admirals had met at Siphnus, to support the war in the Peloponnese with ten triremes and the sum of

thirty Talents, before Autophradates himself departed for Halicarnassus (**Arr.** 2.13.6).

- While Pharnabazus' fleet was anchored in the port of Chios, the population successfully rebelled against the Persians, resulting in the Macedonian navy under Hegelochus entering the harbor, and Pharnabazus and the tyrant Aristonicus of Methymna being captured (**Arr.** 3.2.3–7).
- Managed to escape Hegelochus' guards in Cos (**Arr.** 3.2.7).

89. Pharnákēs (= Ber. 767)

[**Arr.** 1.16.3; **D.S.** 17.21.3]

- Brother of Darius' wife (**Arr.** 1.16.3).
- Was one of the commanders (ἡγεμόνες) who died at the battle of Granicus (**Arr.** 1.16.3; **D.S.** 17.21.3), among whom were **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; **Miθrobouzánēs** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; and **Arboupálēs** (>Ber. 106).

90. Phradasmánēs/Pharismánes (= Ber. 812)

[**Arr.** 3.23.4; 6.27.3; 7.6.5]

- Son of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814), satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania under Darius (**Arr.** 3.23.4), and brother of **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) (**Arr.** 7.6.5).
- Probably surrendered along with his father, brother, and **Nabarzánēs** (>Ber. 543), as the former submitted to Alexander ensuing King Darius' death, and prior to the submission of other Achaemenid grandees at *Zadracarta* in Hyrcania (**Arr.** 3.23.4).
- Arrived along with Stasanor, satrap of Areia and Drangiana, at Carmania to meet Alexander, who had just crossed the Gedrosian desert (**Arr.** 6.27.3); he was probably sent by his father Phrataphernes, whom Alexander had ordered to bring cooked food to him on camels (**Curt.** 9.10.17).
- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbelos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); his own brother **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos**

(>Ber. 526), to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (Arr. 7.6.5).

91. Phrasaórtēs (= Ber. 813)

[Arr. 1.12.8–10; 3.18.2.9; 6.29.2; Curt. 10.1.22]

- Son of **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685), one of the commanders (στρατηγοί), that is, ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilica; **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; and **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (Arr. 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zeieia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (Arr. 1.12.8–10).
- Was appointed satrap of Persis by Alexander, instead of ¹**Ariobarzánēs** (>Ber. 115), satrap of Persis under Darius (Arr. 3.18.2), who after an obstinate defense was forced to take flight (Arr. 3.18.9).
- Died of illness while in office and was succeeded without appointment by **Orxínēs/Orsines-Orsilos** (>Ber. 592), who took control of Persis' government (of Pasargadae's according to Curt. 10.1.22), during the absence of Alexander in India (Arr. 6.29.2).

92. Phrataphérnēs (= Ber. 814)

[Arr. 3.8.4; 22.1; 23.4; 28.2; 4.7.1; 18.1–2; 5.20.7; 6.27.3; 7.3.2–3; 6.5; Curt. 6.4.23, 25; 7.3.2–3; 8.3.17; 9.10.17; D.S. 18.3.3; Just. 12.4.12; 13.4.23]

- Satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania under Darius (Arr. 3.23.4); is possibly confused with a certain **Andragóras** (>Ber. *6) by Justin: (*Parthis deinde domitis praefectus his statuitur ex nobilibus Persarum Andragoras*; Just. 12.4.12).
- Father of **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812) and **Sisínēs** (>Ber. 709) (Arr. 7.6.5).
- At Gaugamela led the mounted troops of the Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Topeirians (Arr. 3.8.4).
- Surrendered, possibly along with his two sons, and **Nabarzánēs** (>Ber. 543)—according to Curt. 6.4.22–23, the submission of Nabarzanes took place later, namely, in Hyrcania—after King Darius' death, but before the submission of other Achaemenid grandees at *Zadracarta* in Hyrcania (Arr. 3.23.4).
- Although at the time of Phrataphernes' submission to Alexander, his satrapy was already governed by the new appointee **Ammínápēs** (>Ber. 55) (Arr. 3.22.1; Curt. 6.4.25), he seems

to have been able to regain it promptly thereafter (Arr. 3.28.2; 5.20.7).

- In his first expedition, he was ordered to help **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152) and the two Companions Erigyius and Caranus, who were dispatched to counter the insurrection of the Areians in rebellion against Alexander under the leadership of **Satibarzánēs** (>Ber. 697) (Arr. 3.28.2–3; Curt. 7.3.2–3).
- Probably captured and brought **Barzánēs** (>Ber. 204), ephemerally invested with the satrapy of Parthia by **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) (Arr. 4.7.1), to Alexander at *Zariaspa*. He was accompanied by Stasanor, who brought in chains **Arsákes/Arsames** (>Ber. 146), whom he succeeded in the office of the satrap of Areians (Arr. 4.18.1; also Curt. 8.3.17).
- In his second expedition, he was ordered to bring to Alexander at Nautaca the satrap of the Mardians and Tapurians ²**Autophradátēs/Phradatēs** (>Ber. 189), who had refused to appear before Alexander (Arr. 4.18.2), and to take over his territories (Curt. 8.3.17).
- Brought the Thracian detachment that was left behind with him to Alexander in India just after the battle at Hydaspes (Arr. 5.20.7).
- Following Alexander's order to dispatch cooked food to him on camels (Curt. 9.10.17), Phrataphernes probably sent his son Phradasmanes, who is reported to have arrived along with Stasanor, satrap of Areia and Drangiana, at Carmania to meet Alexander, who had just crossed the Gedrosian desert (Arr. 6.27.3).
- Phrataphernes' two sons, that is, Sisines and Phradasmanes, were both admitted at Susa, along with a few other Iranian noblemen, namely Kophén (>Ber. 459), son of **Artabazos**; Hydárnēs (>Ber. 759) and Artibólēs (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaíos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos/Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárθēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaíos** (>Ber. 526) to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (Arr. 7.6.5).
- Also kept his command over Hyrcania following the death of Alexander (Just. 13.4.23; D.S. 18.3.3).

93. Proéxēs (= Ber. 658)

[Arr. 3.28.4; 4.22.5]

- Persian nobleman appointed satrap of the Parapamisadae by Alexander following the

foundation of Alexandria at Mount Caucasus (Hindu-Kush; **Arr.** 3.28.4; 4.22.5).

- Probably was replaced at a later date on account of his bad government by **Tyriespis/Terioltes** (>Ber. 758) (**Arr.** 4.22.5). However, since Arrianus only mentions the replacement of Alexandria's (the city's) ὑπαρχος, there is the probability that Arrianus' account does not allude to Proexes, who, if not replaced by Tyriespis, must have died prior to the replacement. In the latter case, the replacement could have concerned one of the Companions, that is, Neiloxenes, who was appointed as the overseer of the troops at the same time as Proexes received his satrapy (**Arr.** 3.28.4).

94. Rheomitrēs (= Ber. 685)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10; **D.S.** 17.19.4; 34.5]

- Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) including ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilicia; **Petéñēs** (>Ber. 632); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715), satrap of Lydia and Ionia; and **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zeieia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10).
- Father of **Phrasaórtēs** (>Ber. 813) (**Arr.** 1.12.8).
- At the battle of Granicus led on the right wing 2,000 thousand horsemen, between 1,000 Medes, and 2,000 Bactrians (**D.S.** 17.19.4).
- Died at the battle of Issus defending the king's chariot along with Arsames and **Atizýēs** (>Ber. 179) (**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10; **D.S.** 17.34.5).

95. Rhoisákēs/Rhōsakēs (= Ber. 687)

[**Arr.** 1.15.7–8; **Curt.** 8.1.20; **D.S.** 16.47.2; **D.S.** 17.20.1–7; **Plu.** *Alex.* 16. 4–6]

- A descendant of the Seven, and satrap of Ionia and Lydia under Artaxerxes Ochus (**D.S.** 16.47.2: αὐτός δὲ ἀπόγονος μὲν ἦν ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπὶ Περσῶν τῶν τοὺς μάχους καταλυσάντων σατράπης δὲ Ἰωνίας καὶ Λυδίας).
- Brother of **Spiθridátēs** (>Ber. 715) (**D.S.** 17.20.6), who under Darius was the new satrap of Ionia, as well as the king's son-in-law (**Arr.** 1.12.8; 16.3; **D.S.** 17.20.1–2: ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας σατράπης Σπιθροβάτης γένει μὲν ὢν Πέρσης Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός).

- Participated in the battle of Granicus, where he was involved in single combat with Alexander. According to Arrianus (1.15.7–8), Alexander, after confronting **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525) in single combat, received a scimitar blow to his head, and was in danger of receiving a second one by Rhoisakes and Spithridates. In Arrianus' narrative, the first blow was administered by Rhoisakes, who, however, was soon overpowered by Alexander himself; Spithridates attempted a second one, but was prevented from realizing his fatal stroke by Cleitus, who cut off his shoulder (**Arr.** 1.15.8); similarly Plutarch (*Plu. Alex.* 16. 4–6). In contrast, in Diodorus' narrative (**D.S.** 17.20.1–7), the roles ascribed to Mithridates and Spithridates by Arrianus are attributed to Spithridates/Spithrobates alone, who first unsuccessfully hurls his lance at Alexander, then attempts to strike him with the sword. The third stroke, which splits the helmet of the Macedonian without killing him, as well as an attempted fourth one, which is prevented by Cleitus, Diodorus attributes to Rhoisakes (**D.S.** 17.20.6–7); similarly Curtius (**Curt.** 8.1.20).

96. Spiθridátēs (= Ber. 715)

[**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 15.7–8; 16.3; **D.S.** 17.19.4; 20.1–7]

- Satrap of Lydia and Ionia and son-in-law of King Darius (**Arr.** 1.12.8; 16.3; **D.S.** 17.20.1); Diodorus (17.20.1–2) calls him **Spiθrobátēs** (ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας σατράπης Σπιθροβάτης γένει μὲν ὢν Πέρσης Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός)
- Brother of **Rhoisákēs** (>Ber. 687) (**D.S.** 17.20.6).

97. Rhoxánē (= Ber. 688)

[**Arr.** 4.18.4; 19.5–6; 20.4; 6.15.3; 7.4.4; **Arr. Fr.** 9; **Curt.** 8.4.21, 23–25; **D.S.** 18.3.3; 19.105.2; **Just.** 13.2.5; 15.2.5; **Plu.** *Alex.* 72.4; **Str.** 11.517]

- Daughter of the Bactrian nobleman **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587) (**Arr.** 4.19.5–6; 6.15.3; **Curt.** 8.4.23; **Str.** 11.517).
- Sister of **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392) (**Arr.** 7.6.5).
- Was placed by Oxyarthes together with his mother and sisters in the "Sogdian Rock" of **Ariamázēs/Arimases** (>Ber. 112) (**Arr.** 4.18.4), where they were captured by Alexander (**Arr.** 4.19.5–6; **Str.** 11.517).
- Falling in love with Rhoxane (**Arr.** 4.19.5; **Curt.** 8.4.24–5), Alexander decided to marry her (**Arr.** 4.19.5; 7.4.4; **D.S.** 18.3.3), also as a means to combine the two leading ethno-classes of his

empire (**Curt.** 8.4.25: *diceret ad stabiliendum regnum pertinere Persas et Macedones conubio iungi*).

- Oxyarthes surrendered to Alexander following the news of Alexander's intention to marry his daughter Rhoxane (**Arr.** 4.20.4; **Curt.** 8.4.21).
- At the time of Alexander's death, she was pregnant with a son who would also be called Alexander (**Arr. Fr.** 9; **Curt.** 8.4.21; **Just.** 13.2.5).
- Was involved in the murder of ²**Státeira** (>Ber. 722) and her sister **Drypêtis** (> Ber. 290) after Alexander's death with the consent of Perdicas (**Plu. Alex.** 72.4).
- Was assassinated together with her son on the orders of Cassander (**D.S.** 19.105.2; **Just.** 15.2.5).

98. Sabíktas (Arr.)/Sabistamenes-Abistamenes (Curt.) (= Ber. 690)

[**Arr.** 2.4.2; **Curt.** 3.4.1]

- Iranian aristocrat; was appointed satrap of Cappadocia by Alexander following the submission of the country (**Arr.** 2.4.2); Curtius mentions a certain *Sabistamenes* in this charge (**Curt.** 3.4.1).

99. Satibarzánēs (= Ber. 697)

[**Arr.** 3.8.4; 21.1, 9–10; 25.1–8; 28.2–3; **Curt.** 6.6.13, 20–23, 36; 7.3.1–3; 4.33–39; 8.3.17; **D.S.** 17.78.1–2; 81.3; 83.4–6]

- Satrap of Areia (**Arr.** 3.8.4; 25.1).
- At Gaugamela led the Areians on the left wing of the Persian battle order (**Arr.** 3.8.4).
- After the Persian defeat at Gaugamela, accompanied the king in his retreat to the East, and later was among the conspirators together with **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) and **Nabarzánēs** (>Ber. 543), who arrested the king in *Thara* (**Arr.** 3.21.1; **Curt.** 6.6.36), and to whom he, along with **Barsaéntēs** (>Ber. 205), inflicted a deadly wound some time later (**Arr.** 3.21.9–10).
- Submitted to Alexander in the city of Susia, as the latter entered Areian territory, and was confirmed in his satrapy by Alexander (**Arr.** 3.25.1–2; **Curt.** 6.6.13, 20–21).
- Was accompanied by the Macedonian commander Anaxippus and some forty mounted javelin-men (*hippakontistoi*), charged to secure different places in the path of Alexander's troops through Areia (**Arr.** 3.25.2). Once Alexander was on his way to Bactria (**Arr.** 3.25.4), and upon Bessus' claiming royal dignity (**Arr.**

3.25.3), Satibarzanes massacred Anaxippus and his troops; armed the Areians; and invested the city of Artacoana/Chortacana (where the Areian palace was located), with the intent of joining forces with Bessus in Bactra (**Arr.** 3.25.5–6; **Curt.** 6.6.20–21; **D.S.** 17.78.1).

- Was forced to escape to Bactria together with a few horsemen upon the unexpected and swift return of Alexander, the Companions, and other cavalry forces, whereby other followers of Satibarzanes found refuge in the neighboring mountains (**Arr.** 3.25.5; **Curt.** 6.6.21–23; **D.S.** 17.78.2). Curtius (6.6.22–23: *Satibarzanes cum duobus milibus equitum . . . Bactra per fugit ceteri proximos montes occupaverunt*) and Dio (17.78.2: αὐτὸς μὲν μετὰ δισχιλίων ἰππέων ἐξίππευσε πρὸς Βῆσσον) both mention 2,000 horsemen fleeing along with Satibarzanes to Bactria, a number that might have been influenced by that of the cavalry accompanying Satibarzanes on his subsequent invasion of Areia.
- Upon the submission of Areia by Alexander and the appointment of **Arsákēs** (> Ber. 146) as the new satrap of Areia (**Arr.** 3.25.7–8)—Curtius (7.3.1) seems to confuse Arsakes' name with that of a certain Arsames, whom he makes satrap of Drangiana (**Curt.** 7.3.1; 8.3.17)—was able to return with 2,000 horsemen, provided by Bessus, and entice a second rebellion in Areia (**Arr.** 3.28.2; **Curt.** 7.3.2; **D.S.** 17.81.3).
- Confronted the expeditionary force sent by Alexander under **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152), and the Companions Erigyus and Caranus—the satrap of Parthia, **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814) was also requested to join them—to counter the insurrection of the Areians (**Arr.** 3.28.2–3; **Curt.** 7.3.2–3; **D.S.** 17.83.4).
- Undeclared in battle, Satibarzanes defied the most courageous of the Macedonians commanders to engage in single combat; Erigyus, accepting the challenge, struck him with the spear in the face and killed him (**Arr.** 3.28.3; **Curt.** 7.4.33–39; **D.S.** 17.83.4–6).

100. Satrákēs (= Ber. 698)

[**Arr.** 4.4.1–9; **Curt.** 7.7.1]

- The commander of the Scythian king (*rex Scytharum*) whose rule extended at time beyond the Iaxartes (**Curt.** 7.7.1).
- Led the Scythian forces that were defeated by Alexander after the latter had crossed the river (**Arr.** 4.4.1–9); was killed in battle (**Arr.** 4.4.8).

101. Satropátēs (= Ber. 699)

[**Curt.** 4.9.7; 9.24–25]

- Was sent either by Darius (**Curt.** 4.9.7), or **Ma-zaïos** (>Ber. 484) (**Curt.** 4.9.24) along with 1,000 horsemen as a vanguard against Alexander.
- Was killed by the commander of the Paeonian cavalry Ariston, who ran his spear through his throat and allegedly cut off his head with the sword (**Curt.** 4.9.25).

102. Sayákēs (**Arr.**)/**Sataces-Sabaces** (**Curt.**) (= Ber. 689)

[**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10; **D.S.** 17.34.5]

- Satrap of Egypt under Darius (**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.10); Diodorus calls him *Tasiaces* (**D.S.** 17.34.5).
- Died at the battle of Issus defending the king's chariot along with ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685), and **Atizýēs** (>Ber. 179) (**Arr.** 2.11.8; **Curt.** 3.11.9–10; **D.S.** 17.34.5).

103. Sisíkottos (**Arr.**)/**Sisicostus** (**Curt.**) (= Ber. 707)

[**Arr.** 4.28.1; 30.4; 5.20.7; **Curt.** 8.9.25]

- Iranian aristocrat who joined **Bēssos** (>Ber. 212) at Bactra, but following Alexander's submission of Bactria surrendered to the Macedonians (**Arr.** 4.30.4).
- After the capture of the rock *Aornos*, to which the inhabitants of Bazira had fled (**Arr.** 4.28.1), was given command over the garrison set on the rock (**Arr.** 4.30.4) and possibly the adjoining district (**Curt.** 8.9.25), which seems to be that of the Assacenians (**Arr.** 4.30.5), and over which he was given satrapal authority, as it seems (**Arr.** 5.20.7).
- Reported the revolt of the Assacenians who had killed the appointee of Alexander (**Arr.** 5.20.7), who thereupon ordered **Tyriēspis**/**Terioltes** (= Ber. 758) and Philippus to reestablish his authority in the land of the Assacenians (**Arr.** 5.20.7).

104. Sisimíthrēs (**Str.**, **Curt.**)/**Choriénēs** (**Arr.**) (= Ber. 708)

[**Arr.** 4.21.1, 6, 8–10; **Curt.** 8.2.25, 32–33; 8.4.19; **Plu. Alex.** 58.2–3; **Str.** 11.517]

- One of the magnates/commanders (ὑπαρχοί) of Sogdian Paraitacene (**Arr.** 4.21.1).
- Called *Sisimithres* by Strabo (11.517), Curtius, and Plutarch (*Alex.* 58.2), but *Chorienes* by Arrianus.

- Was in control of an impregnable fort (πέτρα) along with 500 soldiers (**Arr.** 4.21.1; **Str.** 11.517; **Plu. Alex.** 58.2).
- After initial resistance against Alexander, sought negotiations with the latter through the intermediary of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), with whom he seems to have been befriended (**Arr.** 4.21.6). Curtius reports that Alexander initiated the negotiations (**Curt.** 8.2.25).
- Surrendered to Alexander following the negotiations (**Arr.** 4.21.8; **Plu. Alex.** 58.3).
- Was confirmed in his position as ὑπαρχος by Alexander (**Arr.** 4.21.9; **Curt.** 8.2.32).
- His sons were incorporated into Alexander's army (**Curt.** 8.2.33).
- Provided the Macedonian army with provisions (**Arr.** 4.21.10; **Curt.** 8.4.19; **Str.** 11.517).

105. ¹Sisínēs (= Ber. 709)

[**Arr.** 3.23.4; 7.6.5]

- Son of **Phrataphérnēs** (>Ber. 814), satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania under Darius (**Arr.** 3.23.4), and brother of **Phradasmánēs** (>Ber. 812) (**Arr.** 7.6.5).
- Probably surrendered along with his father, brother, and **Nabarzánēs** (>Ber. 543), as the former submitted to Alexander ensuing King Darius' death, prior to the submission of other Achaemenid grandees at *Zadracarta* in Hyrcania (**Arr.** 3.23.4).
- Was admitted together with few other Iranian noblemen, namely, **Kophén** (>Ber. 459), son of **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152); **Hydárnēs** (>Ber. 759) and **Artibólēs** (>Ber. 154), sons of **Mazaïos** (>Ber. 484), and brothers of **Antíbēlos**/**Brochubelos** (>Ber. 82); his own brother **Phradasmanes**; **Itánēs** (>Ber. 392), son of **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), and brother of **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688); and the brothers **Aigobárēs** (>Ber. 32) and **Miθrobaïos** (>Ber. 526), to the *Agema* of the Hetairoi (**Arr.** 7.6.5).

106. ²Sisínēs (= Ber. 710)

[**Arr.** 1.25.1–4; **Curt.** 3.7.11–15]

- Persian nobleman of King Darius' entourage (**Arr.** 1.25.3) who was sent by Darius, on the pretext of visiting **Atizýēs** (>Ber. 179), the satrap of Phrygia, to Alexander, son of Aeropus, the commander of the Thessalian cavalry who had helped Alexander in his accession (**Arr.** 1.25.1–2), with a letter responding to

- Alexander's alleged overtures towards a secret alliance with Darius (**Arr.** 1.25.3). According to Arrianus, Alexander had made overtures through Amyntas as he deserted to Darius, and was in return promised the Macedonian throne and 1,000 gold Talents by Darius, were he to assassinate the Macedonian king (**Arr.** 1.25.3).
- Sisines apparently fell into Parmenion's hand and revealed the plot of assassination against Alexander to him; he was subsequently sent to Alexander himself (**Arr.** 1.25.4).
 - According to Curtius, however, Sisines was a Persian general sent to the court of Philip of Macedonia by the satrap (*praefectus*) of Egypt (**Curt.** 3.7.11). Sisines had remained in exile and served Alexander, whom he had followed to Asia, as a loyal friend (**Curt.** 3.7.11). He was sent a letter by Darius' general (*praetor*) **Nabarzānēs** (>Ber. 543) implicitly urging him to kill Alexander (**Curt.** 3.7.12).
 - Allegedly, Sisines intended to reveal the content of the letter—already known to Alexander, who was keen to test the loyalty of Sisines—to the Macedonian, but had delayed his undertaking out of consideration for Alexander's busy schedule (**Curt.** 3.7.13–14).
 - Was suspected of conspiracy and killed on Alexander's order (**Curt.** 3.7.15).

107. Sisýgambis (= Ber. 711)

[**Arr.** 2.11.9; 3.22.6; **D.S.** 17.5.5; 67.1; 118.3; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; 4.15.5, 10–12; 5.2.17–18; 10.5.19–25; **Plu. Alex.** 21.1–3; 43.3]

- Sister and wife of Arsanes (**D.S.** 17.5.5), mother of Darius, **Oxyáθrēs/Exáθrēs** (>Ber. 586), and ¹**Státeira** (>Ber. 721); grandmother of ²**Státeira** (>Ber. 722), **Drypētis** (>Ber. 290), and the infant **Ochos** (>Ber. 833), who were taken captive by Alexander following the Persian defeat at Issus and the seizure of the royal camp (τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἔάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ἀελφῇ Δαρείου καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἔάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἅμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλάί; **Arr.** 2.11.9; *sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non maiestate solum sed etiam aetate venerabilis haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum . . . at in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae vir-*

gines non suo tantum sed etiam illius maerore confectae; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; **Plu. Alex.** 21.1–3).

- Was part of Alexander's baggage prior to the battle of Gaugamela (**Curt.** 4.13.35), and seems not to have been able to escape her captivity during the ephemeral capture of the camp by Mazaius (**Curt.** 4.15.5, 10–12).
- Was left behind by Alexander in Susa together with ²Stateira, Drypetis, and Ochus (**D.S.** 17.67.1; **Curt.** 5.2.17–18; see also **Arr.** 3.22.6).
- Received Darius' body that was sent to her by Alexander (**Plu. Alex.** 43.3).
- Apparently mourned Alexander's passing, before dying herself (**D.S.** 17.118.3; **Curt.** 10.5.19–25).

108. Spitaménēs (= Ber. 717)

[**Arr.** 3.28.9–10; 29.6; 30.1–3, 5; 4.1.2–5; 3.6–7; 5.2–9; 6.1–2, 4–7; 16.3–7; 17.1–2, 4–8; 7.4.6; **Curt.** 7.5.21–26, 36–43; 6.11–15, 24–25; 7.1.30–39; 9.20; 8.3.1–15]

- Iranian aristocrat of Bactrian stock (**Arr.** 7.4.6), who later belonged to **Bēssos'** (>Ber. 212) immediate entourage, and circle of friends (**Curt.** 7.5.19: *Spitamenes erat inter omnes amicos praecipuo honore cultus a Besso*).
- Father of ²**Apámē** (>Ber. 98) (**Arr.** 7.4.6).
- Together with **Dataphérnēs** (>Ber. 246) was among the followers of Bessus who, upon the latter's decision to withdraw beyond the Oxus ahead of Alexander's advancing forces (into Bactria), accompanied him to that place (**Arr.** 3.28.9–10).
- Along with Dataphernes and **Katánēs** (>Ber. 415), planned after crossing the Oxus to hand Bessus over to the Macedonians (**Arr.** 3.29.6; **Curt.** 7.5.21–26). Allegedly, Bessus was left behind by Dataphernes and his fellow conspirators to be apprehended by Macedonian forces dispatched under the command of Ptolemy (**Arr.** 3.30.1–3); Aristoboulus *apud* Arrianus (3.30.5) reports that Bessus was handed over naked and bound to Ptolemy by Spitamenes and Dataphernes personally. Curtius further relates that Bessus was brought bound, naked, and in chains to Alexander at the river Iaxartes by Spitamenes and possibly Katanes (**Curt.** 7.5.36–43).
- While Alexander contemplated invading Scythian territory beyond the Iaxartes, Spitamenes was able to agitate the Sogdians and the Bactri-

- ans at the back of Macedonian positions, possibly in unison with the Scythians (**Arr.** 4.1.2–5; 4.3.6; **Curt.** 7.6.11–15), who perceived the newly founded city on the Iaxartes, Alexandria Eschate (**Curt.** 7.6.25), as threatening (**Curt.** 7.7.1).
- Invested the city of Maracanda, wherein Macedonian troops had been garrisoned (**Arr.** 4.3.6; **Curt.** 7.6.24), and laid siege to the citadel, without being able to capture it (**Arr.** 4.5.2); he eventually gave up the siege upon being informed of Macedonian relief troops under the command of the Lydian Pharnuces (**Arr.** 4.3.7) approaching (**Arr.** 4.5.3).
 - Was able to destroy the pursuing Macedonian forces encompassing 60 Companions, 800 mercenary cavalry, and 1,500 mercenary infantry, which, either, confronted with Spitamenes' superior forces, were obliged to withdraw towards the river Polytimetus and were thereby decimated by the Iranians (**Arr.** 4.5.3–9); or were ambushed, according to Aristoboulus (*apud* Arrianus), (**Arr.** 4.6.1–2; **Curt.** 7.7.30–39).
 - Besieged for a second time the Macedonian garrison in the citadel of Maracanda before withdrawing, prompted in doing so by Alexander's arrival with fresh troops (**Arr.** 4.6.4; **Curt.** 7.9.20).
 - Seems to have retreated to Scythian (Massagetaean) territory (**Arr.** 4.16.3–4), where he might have spent the winter (**Arr.** 4.6.5–7; **Curt.** 7.9.20, wrongly indicates his withdrawal to Bactra: *Bactra perfugerat*).
 - Although **Artábazos** (>Ber. 152) and Coenus—leading one of the sundry contingents with which Alexander had invaded Sogdiana—were sent to Scythia to watch for any movements by Spitamenes (**Arr.** 4.16.3), he, in unison with Massagetaean cavalry, nonetheless seems to have been able effectively to surprise them by invading Bactrian territory once more, capturing a fort, destroying the garrison, and taking its commandant captive (**Arr.** 4.16.4–5).
 - Was able to move towards Bactra, whose surrounding he ravaged; in the absence of Craterus, some of the Companions, left behind at Bactra, together with 80 mercenary horsemen attempted a successful sortie and recovered some of the booty amassed by Spitamenes (**Arr.** 4.16.6). Eventually, however, Spitamenes and his Massagetae massacred them, including Pithon, the head of the royal retinue in Bactra (**Arr.** 4.16.6–7).
 - His retreating forces faced Macedonian pursuers under Craterus, and suffered a setback, before regaining the steppes (**Arr.** 4.17.1–2).
 - Launched another raid on Sogdian-Scythian (Massagetaean) territory with forces including Sogdian and Bactrian elements, as well as 3,000 Massagetaean cavalry, which were defeated by Macedonian troops under Coenus (**Arr.** 4.17.4–6).
 - Upon the desertion of Sogdian and Bactrian forces to Coenus, the Scythian forces plundered their baggage and escaped together with Spitamenes to the steppes, where they apparently cut off his head and sent it to Alexander, in order to avoid further pursuit by Macedonian forces (**Arr.** 4.17.7–8; see also the story retained by **Curt.** 8.3.1–15).
 - Both Spitamenes and Katanes seem to have been mentioned in the Babylonian chronicle reporting on Darius III and Alexander; both reportedly died a violent death: *Kidinnu ina kakki iddâk* "Kidinnu was killed by the sword," (van der Spek 2003, obv. 8'), which could validate Curtius' notice about Katanes dying in battle against Craterus (*Catanes in proelio occisus*; **Curt.** 8.5.2); similarly, in the chronicle, Spitamenes seems to have died a violent death, since [*I*]spatanu appears to be associated with the same expression *ina kakki iddâk* "was killed by the sword" (van der Spek 2003, rev. 2'–4').
109. **Spiθridátēs/Spiθrobátēs** (= Ber. 715) [**Arr.** 1.12.8–10; 15.7–8; 16.3; **Curt.** 8.1.20; **D.S.** 17.19.4; 20.1–7; **Plu.** *Alex.* 16. 4–6]
- Satrap of Lydia and Ionia and son-in-law of King Darius (**Arr.** 1.12.8; 16.3; **D.S.** 17.20.1); Diodorus (17.20.1) calls him Spithrobátēs (ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας σατράπης Σπιθροβάτης γένει μὲν ὦν Πέρσης Δαρείου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρός)
 - Brother of **Rhoisákēs** (>Ber. 687) (**D.S.** 17.20.6).
 - Was one of the commanders (στρατηγοί) together with ²**Arsámēs** (>Ber. 149), satrap of Cilicia; **Rheomítrēs** (>Ber. 685); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); and **Arsítēs** (>Ber. 151), satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, whom Arrianus calls ὑπαρχος (**Arr.** 1.12.8), who held a council of war at *Zeleia* ensuing Alexander's crossing of the Hellespont (**Arr.** 1.12.8–10).
 - Spithridates is confused by Diodorus with **Miθridátēs** (>Ber. 525) (**D.S.** 17.20.1–5), who, according to Arrianus (1.15.7), fought in single combat with Alexander, during which the

- Macedonian thrust his lance into Mithridates' face and threw him to the ground (**Arr.** 1.15.7).
- Led the Hyrcanian cavalry (**D.S.** 17.19.4), as well as a group of forty "Royal Relatives" (**D.S.** 17.20.2) at Granicus.
 - According to Arrianus (1.15.7–8), Alexander, after single combat with Mithridates, received a scimitar blow to his head and was in danger of receiving a second one from two distinct individuals, namely, the brothers Rhoisakes and Spithridates. In Arrianus' narrative, the first blow was administered by Rhoisakes, who, however, was soon overpowered by Alexander himself; Spithridates attempted a second one, but was prevented from realizing his fatal stroke by Cleitus, who cut off his shoulder (**Arr.** 1.15.8); similarly Plutarch (**Plu. Alex.** 16.4–6). In contrast, in Diodorus' narrative (**D.S.** 17.20.1–7), the roles ascribed to Mithridates and Spithridates by Arrianus are attributed to Spithridates alone, who first unsuccessfully hurls his lance at Alexander, then attempts to strike him with the sword. The third stroke, which splits the helmet of the Macedonian without killing him, as well as an attempted fourth one, which is prevented by Cleitus, Diodorus attributes to Rhoisakes (**D.S.** 17.20.6–7); similarly Curtius (**Curt.** 8.1.20).
 - Died at Granicus along with **Niphátēs** (>Ber. 573); **Peténēs** (>Ber. 632); **Miθrobouzānes** (>Ber. 527), ὑπαρχος of Cappadocia; Mithridates (>Ber. 525), the king's son-in-law; **Arboupālēs** (>Ber. 106); and **Pharnákēs** (= Ber. 767) (**Arr.** 1.16).

110. Staménēs/Ditamenes (= Ber. 718)
[**Arr.** 4.18.3; **Curt.** 8.4.1]

- Persian nobleman who was appointed satrap of Babylonia in Nautaca, as news concerning the death of the former Babylonian governor **Mazaïos** (>Ber. 484) reached Alexander (**Arr.** 4.18.3; **Curt.** 8.4.1).

111. ¹Státeira (= Ber. 721)
[**Arr.** 2.11.9; 4.19.5–6; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; 3.13.13; 4.10.23–24; **D.S.** 17.34.2; 54.7; **Just.** 11.12.6–7; **Plu. Alex.** 21.3; 22.3; 30.1–2; 72.4; **Str.** 12.544]

- Sister and wife of Darius, sister of **Oxyáθrēs/Exáθrēs** (> Ber. 586) (**Arr.** 7.4.5; **Curt.** 3.13.13; **D.S.** 17.34.2; **Str.** 12.544); daughter of Arsanes and **Sisýgambis** (>Ber. 711), and mother of ²**Stá-**

teira (>Ber. 722), **Drypêtis** (> Ber. 290), and the infant **Ochos** (>Ber. 833), who were taken captive by Alexander following the Persian defeat at Issus and the seizure of the royal camp (τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλάι; **Arr.** 2.11.9; *sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non maiestate solum sed etiam aetate venerabilis haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum . . . at in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum sed etiam illius maerore confectae*; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; **Plu. Alex.** 21.1–3; 30.2).

- Was praised for her extraordinary beauty (ἡ καλλίστη δὴ ἐλέγετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν; **Arr.** 4.19.5–6; **Curt.** 4.10.24; **Plu. Alex.** 21.3).
- Seems to have evited, and been evited by, Alexander during her captivity (*nam semel tantum eam Alexandro visam esse cum matrem parvulasque filias eius frequenter consolaretur*; **Just.** 11.12.7; **Plu. Alex.** 22.3).
- Died shortly after her being captured at Issus due to complications of a miscarriage (*in itinere nuntiatur uxorem eius ex conlisione abiecti partus decessisse*; **Just.** 11.12.6; **Plu. Alex.** 30.1).
- Was given a funeral befitting her rank by Alexander (**Curt.** 4.10.23; **D.S.** 17.54.7; **Plu. Alex.** 30.1).

112. ²Státeira (= Ber. 722)
[**Arr.** 2.11.9; 25.1; 3.22.6; 7.4.4–5; **Curt.** 3.11.24–25; 4.5.1; 5.2.17–18; **D.S.** 17.54.1–2; 67.1; 107.6; **Plu. Alex.** 21.1–3; 29.4; 72.4]

- Daughter of Darius and ¹**Státeira** (>Ber. 721), granddaughter of **Sisýgambis** (>Ber. 711), and sister of **Drypêtis** (> Ber. 290), and the infant **Ochos** (>Ber. 833), who were taken captive by Alexander following the Persian defeat at Issus and the seizure of the royal camp (τό τε στρατόπεδον τὸ Δαρείου εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου ἐάλω καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Δαρείου καὶ υἱὸς Δαρείου νήπιος· καὶ θυγατέρες δύο ἐάλωσαν καὶ ἄλλαι ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων γυναῖκες οὐ πολλάι; **Arr.** 2.11.9; *sed omnium oculos animosque in semet averterant captivae mater coniunxque Darei; illa non*

maiestate solum sed etiam aetate venerabilis haec formae pulchritudine ne illa quidem sorte corruptae. Receperat in sinum filium nondum sextum annum aetatis egressum . . . at in gremio anus aviae iacebant adultae duae virgines non suo tantum sed etiam illius maerore confectae; Curt. 3.11.24–25; Plu. Alex. 21.1–3).

- After Issus, in a letter allegedly sent by Darius to Alexander, was offered as a token of peace between Alexander and the empire, and would have been given as dowry, the region between the Hellespont and the river Halys in Cappadocia, were Alexander to discontinue his war efforts (*petebat uti filiam suam Statirae erat nomen nuptiis Alexander sibi adiungeret dotem fore omnem regionem inter Hellespontum et Halyn amnem sitam inde orientem spectantibus terris contentum se fore; Curt. 4.5.1; Arr. 2.25.1; D.S. 17.54.1–2; Plu. Alex. 29.4*).
- Was left behind by Alexander in Susa together with Siygambris, Drypetis, and Ochus to be instructed in the Greek language (*D.S. 17.67.1; Curt. 5.2.17–18; see also Arr. 3.22.6*).
- At the weddings at Susa, ²Stateira was married to Alexander himself, and her sister Drypetis to Hephaestion, so that their children might become cousins (*Arr. 7.4.4–5; D.S. 17.107.6*). Arrianus (7.4.4) erroneously calls her Barsine in this passage (αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν Δαρείου θυγατέρων τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Βαρσίνην ἡγάγετο).
- Was murdered together with her sister Drypetis after Alexander's death by **Rhoxánē** (>Ber. 688), who was with child from Alexander, and jealous of her; this with the consent of Perdikkas (*Plu. Alex. 72.4*).

113. Teíreōs (= Ber. 742)

[*Arr. 4.20.1; Curt. 4.10.25–34; Plu. Alex. 30.1–7*]

- Eunuch at the court of Darius, who, having been captured after Issus, was in attendance upon members of the royal family, but managed to escape the Macedonian camp, and report the death of Queen ¹**Státeira** (>Ber. 721) to Darius (*Plu. Alex. 30.1–2; Curt. 4.10.25–34; Arr. 4.20.1*).

114. ¹Tiridátēs (= Ber. 754)

[*Arr. 3.18.10; Curt. 5.5.2; 6.11; D.S. 17.69.1–2; 71.3; Plu. Alex. 37.2*]

- Commander of the city of Persepolis and in charge of the royal finances (*custos pecuniae*

regiae, Curt. 5.5.2) who betrayed the city and handed over the treasures to Alexander, who was aware of his intentions (*Arr. 3.18.10; Curt. 5.5.2; D.S. 17.69.1–2*).

- Was confirmed in his previous charge by Alexander (*Curt. 5.6.11*); the city itself seems to have been plundered and its inhabitants violated (*D.S. 17.71.3; Plu. Alex. 37.2*).

115. ²Tiridátēs (= Ber. 755)

[*Arr. 3.27.5; Curt. 5.5.2; 7.3.3; D.S. 17.81.2*]

- Allegedly appointed commander over the Ariaspans/Arimaspians and Gedrosians (*D.S. 17.81.2*), although Arrianus mentions that they were granted their freedom (*Arr. 3.27.5*); Curtius, who calls the Ariaspans/Arimaspians *Euergetae*, mentions a certain *Amedines* left behind by Alexander to govern them; the latter is reported to have been Darius' secretary (*scriba is Darei fuerat; Curt. 7.3.3*), which could make him identical to ¹**Tiridátēs** (>Ber. 754), the *custos pecuniae regiae* (*Curt. 5.5.2*).

116. ³Tiridátēs (= Ber. 756)

[*Curt. 8.6.26*]

- Persian nobleman, whose properties Alexander gave to Eurylochus for his role in the discovery of the conspiracy of the pages (*Curt. 8.6.26*).

117. Tyriespis (*Arr.*)/**Terioltes** (*Curt.*) (= Ber. 758)

[*Arr. 4.22.5; 5.20.7; 6.15.3; Curt. 9.8.9–10*]

- Was appointed satrap of the Parapamisadae and the district as far as the river Cophen by Alexandria after **Proéxēs** (>Ber. 658) (*Arr. 4.22.5*).
- Following his appointment, Tyriespis was ordered along with Philippus to establish Alexander's authority in the land of the Assacenians, who had revolted against the Macedonians, and killed their governor; Alexander was informed about their insurrection by the Assacenian satrap **Sisikottos/Sisicostus** (>Ber. 707) (*Arr. 5.20.7*).
- Was removed from office and replaced by **Oxyárthēs** (>Ber. 587), **Rhoxánē's** (>Ber. 688) father, following charges of bad conduct held against him (*Arr. 6.15.3; Curt. 9.8.9*); Curtius (9.8.10) does not mention the new satrapy of Oxyarthes by name, but merely that he was given more territories to govern (*Curt. 9.8.10*).

- Was eventually executed ensuing the charges (**Curt.** 9.8.9).

118. Zariaspes (= Ber. 335)
[**Arr.** 6.24.1; **Curt.** 9.10.19]

- Persian nobleman, whom Craterus arrested in his way back from the Indian campaign, accusing him of rebellion along with **Ozines** (>Ber. 579; **Curt.** 9.10.19).
- Alexander was informed of his arrest in Gedrosia (**Curt.** 9.10.19), probably in the Gedrosian capital *Pura* (**Arr.** 6.24.1).

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